

STUDIES
IN THE
PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX

BY
HAVELOCK ELLIS

HAVELOCK ELLIS'S
STUDIES
IN THE
PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX.

(Complete in Seven Volumes.)

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STUDIES
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PSYCHOLOGY OF SE

VOLUME VII
EONISM AND OTHER SUPPLEMENTARY
STUDIES.

BY
HAVELOCK GILL

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PREFACE

This supplementary volume of Studies is made up of what Schopenhauer would have called *paralipomena* and *parerga*. That is to say, it consists, in part, of essays and fragments left over from the main volumes because dealing with subjects which had not yet assumed sufficient importance or taken clear and definite shape; and in still larger part of studies that are by-products of my investigation, lying on the borderland of the field of sex, partly in and partly out of it, but suitable to discuss here because here we are able to attempt to determine their precise sexual aspects.

To the first class belong notably the study of Eonism, as I term the anomaly which Hirschfeld inadequately named "Transvestism," and the summary of observations of Kleptolagnia, as I would term an anomaly which would formerly have been ranged in the ancient and highly disputable group of Kleptomanias. To the second class belong most typically the studies of dreaming and of vesical psychology, subjects having fields of their own, which yet at times pass over neighboring frontiers of sex.

It may seem that some of the lines of investigation here followed lead away from familiarly recognizable paths generally accepted as profitable. But as one of our greatest masters in the exploration of the living organism, William Harvey, wrote a few weeks before his death: "Nature is nowhere accustomed more openly to display her secret mysteries than when she shows traces of her workings apart from the beaten path." That which is true of Nature in general is true of the impulse of sex in particular, and none of the explorations, however unfamiliar, recorded in this volume will be devoid of instruction.

I had proposed to include as an appendix to this volume the detailed life-history of a Russian correspondent communicated to me in French. This lengthy narrative I regard as of much interest, both as presenting an intimate picture of social life in Russia before the Revolution and as illustrating various points of sexual psychology. It is not, however, essential to my work, and on grounds unconnected with its intrinsic interest it has been considered desirable to omit it from the English edition of these Studies. It is included in its original form in the French edition published by the Mercure de France, *Etudes de Psychologie Sexuelle* (Vol. 6, pp. 101-208), to which I would refer those who may like to consult it.

In now finally drawing together the last threads of Studies which have occupied so large a part of my life I wish to restore an acknowledgment which was made in the Preface to what is now the first volume, when it was originally published in London in 1900 (1899), of "my indebtedness for the assistance and sympathy which, here and always, I have received from my wife." I removed that acknowledgment from later editions because in the stormy period my work had to pass through in those days I feared that to some persons any association with it might not seem creditable. It was not by my wife's wish that I made the omission, for it was her pride to stand loyally and helpfully by my side in even the most dangerous situations. In now restoring this acknowledgment I know with what satisfaction she would have accepted even so small a recognition of her comradeship in my life-work.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

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theory will hardly work out. A man who "plays a part" during the greater part of his active life and continues to play it long after the active phase of his life is over, plays it, moreover, with such ability and success that no one suspects the "masquerade," is, we may be sure, fulfilling a deep demand of his own nature. He clearly had a constitutional predisposition for the life he adopted, aided by an almost asexual disposition, so that we might place him with the asexual group of transvests in Hirschfeld's classification. It is to be noted, however, that in people with this psychic anomaly physical sexual vigor seems often subnormal.

There are many books on the Chevalier d'Eon both in French and English. Most of them are imperfectly reliable and by authors who were without psychological equipment. Reference may be made to Gaillardet, *Mémoires de la Chevalière d'Eon*, 1866 (but not the romancing book written by the same author thirty years before and afterwards frankly withdrawn by him); J. B. Telfer, *The Strange Career of the Chevalier d'Eon de Beaumont*, 1885; E. A. Vizetelly, *The True Story of the Chevalier d'Eon*, 1895 (a little book by J. B. Telfer, *Chevalier d'Eon de Beaumont: A Treatise*, 1896, is mainly a correction of inaccuracies in Vizetelly's work); G. Létainturier-Fradin, *La Chevalière d'Eon*, 1901; O. Homberg and F. Jousset, *Un Aventurier au XVIII^e Siècle*, 1904, translated into English as *D'Eon de Beaumont: His Life and Times*, in 1911. A German writer, Adolf Paul, has used the Chevalier's story, with much freedom, as the subject of a novel, *Excellenz Unterrock* (1916).

While the Chevalier d'Eon, by his abilities and his public prominence, stands out as the protagonist of transvestism, he is not its earliest representative of note. His fellow-countryman the Abbé de Choisy (François Timoléon de Choisy) takes precedence not only in time but by virtue of the record he has himself left of his adventures in woman's garb. Like the Chevalier d'Eon, he was of good birth and high ability, though he never attained the same conspicuous international reputation. But he mixed in the best aristocratic and intellectual circles of eighteenth century France, and notwithstanding the feminine disguises of his early life he became a distinguished

ecclesiastic, the historian of the Church, and the Doyen of the French Academy.

De Choisy was the son of the Chancellor of the King's brother, and was born in Paris in 1644. He was educated by his mother who belonged to the family of Hurault de l'Hospital and was the great grand-daughter of the famous Chancellor. She was over forty at her son's birth and a woman of much mental vigor, possibly of a rather masculine type, "une maîtresse femme," her son called her, who was treated as a friend by Louis XIV, and she is reported to have given that monarch good advice with much directness. It is said that she brought up her son "on the very breast of the Muses." He himself refers to her without affection, but it was she who cultivated or implanted his taste for transvestism, for she had a fancy to dress him when a child as a girl. Physically he seems to have been well adapted for the part. He was of small size, and plump, with breasts that were like those of a girl of fifteen, he says, on account of the tight stays he wore in early life; his skin was soft and well cared for, and he had much dark hair. He not only possessed a facile, delicate, and expressive literary style, but was an accomplished musician on the harpsichord, and in comedy he was skilful in playing women's parts. He had abandoned feminine garments at the age of 18; but while still a young man a little over twenty, in 1666, at the suggestion, it seems, of no less distinguished a woman than Madame de la Fayette, he returned to a costume for which he seemed so peculiarly adapted, and for which his predilection was so strong. All his adventures in that shape of which we have definite knowledge took place before the age of thirty.

They helped to inspire Louvet to write a once famous novel, *Faustas*, and they are narrated in the fragments of Choisy's *Mémoires* which have come to us, written at the instigation of another distinguished woman, Madame de Lambert, for he was happy in his women friends. These *Mémoires* are written with much charm and skilful facility, in the best eighteenth century manner, the manner of the younger Crébillon, and while they

have not the artist's touch which marks Crébillon at his best, they have a much greater precision of interesting detail and the additional attraction that they present real adventure. If we possessed them in full, Choisy's *Mémoires* would rank among the chief literary treasures of that fascinating century, and, as it is, they constitute a cherished fragment. Moreover they are typical of the Eonist's attitude, and in their ingenuous vanity, their constant complacent absorption in all the smallest details of feminine costume, they curiously resemble the narratives written by Eonists of today. The Abbé de Choisy also resembled the main Eonist type in sexual temperament, being definitely heterosexual, so that even in an age when homosexuality was conspicuous not a rumor of that tendency is associated with him, and also in uniting a great devotion to women with a less than average degree of physical passion so that he was able to find satisfaction in simple affectionate intimacy, though on occasion he went beyond this and, at least once, became the father of a child. In 1676 he accompanied the Cardinal de Bouillon to Rome in an official capacity. Later after a serious illness in which his life was despaired of, he became serious, was converted, and, in retirement at the Seminary of Foreign Missions, occupied himself for a time in writing on the existence of a God and the evidence for immortality.

In 1685 he went as coadjutor-ambassador to Siam and on the voyage became a priest, returning, with fine words from the King of Siam and beautiful presents, to receive a splendid reception in Paris. He translated the *De Imitatione Christi* and wrote the History of the Church in many volumes. But notwithstanding, he seems always to have remained on good terms with his past life, while at the same time his amiable and indeed high character, aided no doubt by wealth and position, enabled him to preserve both general esteem and the friendship of many of the best and most intellectual people of his time. He died in 1724 at the age of eighty and D'Alembert pronounced his Eloge.¹

¹ An edition of the *Aventures de l'Abbé de Choisy Habillé en Femme* was put forth in Paris in 1870 with a Preface by M. P. L. (Pau

During the life-time of the Chevalier d'Eon (1795) a woman was born who became to some extent his feminine counterpart and had a long and distinguished professional career in masculine garments as James Barry, Senior Inspector-General of the English Army Medical Department. She was said to be the grand-daughter of a Scottish laird and entered the army, attired as a man, at the age of 18, to become a hospital assistant, passing through all grades, in male costume, to the rank she finally attained, and serving in various parts of the world. The Inspector-General was said to be quarrelsome in temper, once fighting a duel, and often guilty of breaches of discipline, but the offence was always condoned at headquarters. Barry was described as "the most skilful of physicians and the most wayward of men," in appearance a beardless lad of unmistakably Scotch type, with reddish hair and high cheek bones; there was a certain effeminacy of manner which he was always striving to overcome; his conversation was greatly superior to that usually heard at a mess-table in those days. Barry died in 1865. There is no indication of any sexual tendency in her history, whether heterosexual or homosexual, and we may believe that, as is fairly common in this psychic anomaly, the sexual impulse was not strong, and, therefore, easy to divert and sublimate in this transformation.

Rather earlier than Barry, a much more famous and romantic woman of the same type appeared in English aristocratic circles, Lady Hester Stanhope.¹ On the death of her father, the third Earl Stanhope, who was highly eccentric, but a remarkable and able man and a notable inventor, she was

Lacroix), and the same work, under the title of *Mémoires de l'abbé de Choisy Habillé en Femme*, was published in Paris in 1920 with a somewhat longer introduction.

¹ *The Life and Letters of Lady Hester Stanhope*, by her niece the Duchess of Cleveland, 1897 and 1924. This is regarded as the authoritative biography, though the Duchess never saw her aunt. There are many other lives, both in English and French, some of them superficial and inaccurate, merely serving up the old material afresh. Among the best, perhaps, may be reckoned Frank Hamel, *Lady Hester Lucy Stanhope*, 1913; Julia Roundell, *Lady Hester Stanhope*, 1909. There is a brilliant little sketch of her in half a dozen pages of Lytton Strachey's *Books and Characters*, 1922.

adopted by her uncle, the great statesman William Pitt, and presided at his table with much brilliance. Her mother had died when she was a child but she was greatly devoted to a half-brother, and his death was "the crowning sorrow of her life." After Pitt's death she nearly, it appears, married Sir John Moore. Then she set out on a tour in the East, lost all her clothes in a shipwreck, and put on a male Turkish costume, which she found so convenient that she adopted it. Her transvestism was thus apparently due to an accident, but the significant fact was that she clung to it for the rest of her life and also adopted many other male habits, though there seems no reason to suppose that she was sexually inverted. So that, as sometimes happens, an accident had served to reveal an innate disposition. She dressed sometimes as an Albanian Chief, sometimes as a Syrian soldier, sometimes a Bedouin, sometimes like a Pasha's son. For the Moslems she became a prophetess, almost a queen. She died in old age in her castle hermitage on the summit of Lebanon, and was described by one who knew her as "wholly and magnificently unique."

Numerous distinguished or capable women seem to have exhibited this peculiarity in the eighteenth century and earlier. Näcke briefly refers to Ulrike Kleist, the faithful and beloved sister of the poet, as a typical example of the heterosexual form of this anomaly. He brings forward no precise evidence. When we turn to Kleist's correspondence and poems, it seems clear, at all events, that Ulrike possessed masculine elements in her composition. Her brother sends her a New Year's Wish poem in 1800 in which he addresses her as an "amphibian," living at once both in air and water, and begs her to make sure of her sex, to leave the water and shake her wings and fly. This may perhaps be explained by a letter addressed to her in the same year in which he tells her how deeply he has often wished that she were a man. This hardly suffices, however, to indicate transvestism.

A much more genuine example is furnished in low life at an earlier date in England by Mary Frith, who was

commonly called Moll Cutpurse and became the heroine, in a rather attractive guise, of Middleton's delightful play, *The Roaring Girl*. She was a kind of feminine Jonathan. Wild and possessed great natural ability; she was also the first woman to adopt the habit of smoking. She seems clearly to have been the subject of scxo-aesthetic inversion, perhaps with latent homosexuality.¹

Of all these people we have no precise scientific knowledge, even of their exact psychic state, to say nothing of the explanation of it. Toward the end of the nineteenth century they at last began to come under psychological observation. Westphal, a great pioneer in this field, briefly described the anomaly and brought forward examples.² Some years later the case was published in America of a highly cultured man of good moral character, happily married and a father, who cherished a passion for wearing very tightly laced corsets and women's high-heeled French boots; he derived sexual excitement and gratification from this practice; there was a tendency to masochistic algolagnia; the taste, and allied feminine habits, began to develop in early childhood; this is a form of the anomaly of which later much was to be heard.³

But the earliest full and scientifically described case, to my knowledge, was that of a Hungarian doctor whose history, written in 1890, was given by Krafft-Ebing in the later editions of his *Psychopathia Sexualis*. The subject was a physician

¹ See the brilliant account of her in Whibley's *Book of Scoundrels*. *The Roaring Girl* is included in vol. ii of Middleton's Plays, Mermaid Series.

² *Archiv für Psychologie*, 1876. The first was the case of a young man arrested in woman's clothes and other feminine articles of toilet he was accustomed to wear and frequently stole. The tendency began in childhood. There was no sexual inversion, but he was slightly feminine in appearance and the testicles were incompletely descended. Westphal had a similar case in a woman. He regarded them as showing mental weakness.

³ "Gynomania: a curious case of Masturbation," *Medical Record* March 19, 1881; quoted also by Hammond, *Sexual Impotence*, 1887, pp. 74-78. Later examples of the same type will be found, for instance, in Moll's edition of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1924) pp. 612-613; a case will be brought forward in the present study. Emile Laurent had in 1896 recognized both inborn and acquired "psychic hermaproditism."

who wrote his own fully detailed history. He was married and not homosexual, but his feelings were feminine and he felt to himself like a woman. He was really somewhat feminine in appearance. There were no actual delusions. Krafft-Ebing considered the case to represent a stage of transition to *metamorphosis sexualis paranoica*, that is to say a stage on the road to insanity. This manner of regarding the case is not now acceptable. It was merely the schematic classification of an alienist and threw no light on the anomaly. To describe a mental condition which, though abnormal, is sane, by its relation to an insane state it never reaches, although such a method may be the most obvious to an alienist, is to assume too pathological a standpoint. The case itself, however, as described by the expert subject, may still perhaps be regarded as the most typical and complete on record.¹

A few years later, Lombroso, another great pioneer in the realms of abnormal psychology, described what he called "a strange psychopathic form of sexuality." It was that of a man of 30, belonging to Romagna, a good artist, small, timid, very kind to animals, who had from the age of seven a kind of passion for feminine ornaments, especially ear-rings. At an early age he pierced the lobes of his ears and rather enjoyed the pain. He wanted to be a woman, he said to himself as a child because women are nicer than men. He much admired women who wore large ear-rings, and when about twelve, though quite innocent in sexual matters, he used to have erections in thinking about this subject. Beauty in women consisted for him in the shape of the ears. He was not addicted to masturbation and seems to have had no relations with women. He carefully concealed his peculiarity and usually wore his ear-rings in secret.² Lombroso made no attempt to classify this anomaly but a case I shall here bring forward indicates that it probably belongs to this group.

¹ It will be found in the 16th and 17th edition of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, as edited and remoulded by Moll (1924), pp. 595-610.

² *Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1896, fasc. 1-2, p. 163.

A little before Lombroso (in 1895), Austin Flint, the distinguished professor of Physiology at Cornell University, had carefully investigated and photographed a case belonging to this group, though he neglected to publish it until sixteen years later.¹ This was a youth of 21, who had always preferred women's dress and occupations, and had been lady's maid in a Boston family, where he attended his mistress in her bath and slept with the servant girls. He denied sexual feelings for either sex; nor had he ever had any erotic dreams, seminal emissions, or erections. But his physical development was entirely and fully masculine and the external genital organs were generously developed. His ways, however, were rather feminine, and he had a high voice, which in singing was a pure adult soprano and not a boy's voice. This was his most remarkable peculiarity. He might now be fairly considered a case of eunuchoidism. But at that time all such anomalies were confused and obscure, still awaiting differentiation and adequate explanation.

Another example, that of a teacher, not vigorous in physical health but well endowed intellectually, was published as a case of "effemination with fetichism."² He was referred to as an invert, but in reality he was attracted not to men but to women. It was clearly a typical case of what Hirschfeld later termed "transvestism" and what I would call "sexo-aesthetic inversion," or, more simply, "Eonism."

In my own early attempts to classify the cases of this kind I met with I had similarly been inclined to regard them as representing a combination of feminism with fetichism and as occupying a sort of annex to inversion proper. But this was

¹ A. Flint, "A Case of Sexual Inversion, probably with Complete Sexual Anæsthesia," *New York Medical Journal*, Dec. 2, 1911. The name applied to the case is wrong, for, in the psychological sense in which the words are usually employed, "sexual inversion" and "sexual anæsthesia" are incompatible. Emile Laurent, who towards the end of the last century was a pioneer in the study of bisexual manifestations, suggested the rather better name of psychic hermaphroditism.

² *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, Bd. ii, 1900, pp. 324-344. Some further account of the early bibliography is given by Dr. E. Wilhelm, *Sexual-Probleme*, July, 1914, pp. 495-502.

unsatisfactory, though it avoided some errors previously made, for not only is there usually no real primary inversion in these cases, but there is no true fetichism, the garment possessing no marked dynamic erotic power in itself, or when worn by another person, but only when worn by the subject himself; in some cases, moreover, clothing played little or no part. So I left the matter over for further consideration.

It may be worth while to note that, about this time, C. G. Leland, a well-known and prolific American man of letters, wrote towards the end of a long life a book which had some bearing on the phenomena we are here concerned with. He argued that the "subconscious self" is of the opposite sex, asserting itself when it can and especially in dreams. He seems to have had an intuition of the class of facts included under "transvestism" (though he made no reference to cross-dressing); we shall indeed meet with a case in which this impulse is confined to dream-life, and one is inclined to suppose that Leland had found such phenomena in himself and was tempted to unduly generalize them; but his book was vague and unscientific.¹

In the meanwhile Magnus Hirschfeld of Berlin, whose acquaintance with all the phenomena in any way related to homosexuality is so vast, had become impressed by these cases of persons who take pleasure in assuming the attributes of the opposite sex and yet are not sexual inverters and seldom even tend to become inverted. He put forth a substantial volume concerning what he called "transvestism"—"An Investigation into the Erotic Impulse of Disguise," as he termed it in the subtitle—in which the historical aspects of the subject were discussed and seventeen new cases fully described and analyzed.² This book placed the subject at once on a solid basis, for Hirschfeld clearly distinguished the anomaly from homosexuality and all other recognized groups of sexual aberration, and for the first time conceived of it as a simple and

¹ C. G. Leland, *The Alternate Sex and the Female Intellect in Man and the Masculine in Women*, 1904.

² Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Transvestiten: Eine Untersuchung über den Erotischen Verkleidungstrieb*, 1910.

not compound perversion.¹ But Hirschfeld's conception of the anomaly scarcely appeared to me altogether satisfactory. Transvestism or cross-dressing² fails to cover the whole of the ground; it may even be a negligible element in the psychological anomaly, while the other name proposed, "impulse of disguise," (*Verkleidungstrieb*), though approved by Näcke,³ seems to me even more open to objection, since the subject of this anomaly, far from seeking disguise by adopting the garments of the opposite sex, feels on the contrary that he has thereby become emancipated from disguise and is at last really himself.

From the first, however, Hirschfeld had realized the great difficulty of naming this anomaly. In *Die Transvestiten* (p. 300) he had proposed and rejected the term "sexual metamorphosis," and he admits that "transvestism" by no means exhausts the contents of the phenomena. That may be the reason why for a time he preferred the equally unsatisfactory term approved by Näcke.⁴ More recently⁵ he has returned to

¹ Stekel, in an interesting review of Hirschfeld's book (*Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*, vol. i, Heft. 1-2) thought that he unduly minimized the tendency to homosexuality and more recently in various volumes of his *Störungen* (as Bd. ii. p. 183 *et seq.*, and Bd. vii, pp. 534 and 570) is inclined to deny heterosexuality altogether in Eonism. More recently, Sadger, also from the psycho-analytic side (*Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, 1921, p. 167), is inclined, on the contrary, to think that Hirschfeld related transvestism too nearly to inversion, whereas, at all events in its slighter forms, it is associated with a normal direction of the sex impulse. As we shall see, inversion, when it appears in such cases, seems usually to be secondary and not of primary appearance. Rohleder (*Vorlesungen*, 4th ed., 1920, p. 389) finds all his own cases heterosexual.

² "Cross-dressing," as suggested by Edward Carpenter (*American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education*, vol. iv, 1911), is probably the best English equivalent of "Transvestism." According to Hirschfeld's terminology, a cross-dressed man is a "transvestit"; a cross-dressed woman a "transvestitin."

³ P. Näcke, "Zum Kapitel der Transvestiten," *Archiv für Kriminalanthropologie*, vol. xlvii, 1912, p. 237.

⁴ Hirschfeld and Max Tilke, *Der Erotische Verkleidungstrieb (Die Transvestiten)*. This is an interesting collection of pictures and portraits, ethnographic, historical, and clinical.

⁵ *Sexualpathologie*, 1918, vol. ii, ch. 3. He here (p. 140) further introduced the term "androgynous delusion" to express the tendency to believe that the body actually has a feminine or masculine build opposite to the apparent sex. The necessity for such a term, however, only arises from the use of the term "transvestism." The Eonist (though sometimes emphatically of the apparent sex) sometimes shows real physical

"transvestism" and defines it as "the impulse to assume the external garb of a sex which is not apparently that of the subject as indicated by the sexual organs." He adds that the name refers only to the most obvious of the phenomena concerned, and not to the inner psychological core.

Still more recently¹ Hirschfeld has stated the chief varieties of transvestism which he would accept as follows:

1. The Heterosexual variety.
2. The Bisexual variety, with an attraction to virile women and feminine men.
3. The Homosexual variety.
4. The Narcissistic variety (regarded as common) in which the feminine components of the subject's nature give satisfaction to his masculine components.
5. The Asexual variety, often impotent and finding full satisfaction in some feminine occupation, as that of a domestic servant.

Since Hirschfeld's book, *Die Transvestiten*, was published in 1910, Dr. Ralph Pettow of Berlin has occupied himself with the subject and finally published a small volume with a title accepting Hirschfeld's names for the anomaly.² Pettow made no definite forward step in the study of the anomaly, and he regarded it as morbid, but he stressed its psychological significance, and brought forward a number of suggestive though not always original considerations, and many examples from the by-ways of literature and journalism. Pettow defined the aberration as being, "on the foundations of a psychological compulsion, a perpetual or periodic laying aside of the garb pertaining to sex and age and the adoption of another not so pertaining." And he divided the individuals belonging to the class into three groups: (1) Men adopting women's garb, (2)

approximations towards the opposite sex, and is naturally apt to exaggerate these. We must be cautious as to terming this exaggeration a "delusion."

¹ *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, Jahrgang, xxiii, 1923, pp. 12-14.

² Ralph Pettow, *Der Krankhafte Verkleidungstrieb: Beiträge zur Erforschung der Transvestie*, 1922. Johannes Baum, Pfullingen in Württemberg.

men adopting men's, and (3) adults adopting the garb of childhood. He attached some importance to the last anomaly, which he dealt with in detail under the heading of the *Retour à l'Enfance*. This was the name given to it by Pierre Janet who seems first to have called attention to it as a psychic anomaly; he treated it as an emotional disturbance but failed to note the associated tendency to revert to the garments of childhood.¹ Pettow was also careful to distinguish pseudo-transvestism, in which cross-dressing is adopted, not out of erotic compulsion but from convenience or interest or occupational grounds.

It is true, as Pettow claims, that the *Retour à l'Enfance* has not usually been given any important place in the study of transvestism. It is well recognized but has been frequently otherwise classed. Thus, Laquer of Frankfort, in his study of shop-thieves in 1907, brought forward the case of a youth of 17 having really a rather childish appearance, who twice stole money from a shop-till to buy clothes of child type and stood out the street wearing them, to be petted and kissed as a child; and Stekel, who quotes the case,² regards it as one of homosexual infantilism combined with kleptomania from sexual motives (kleptolagnia, as I should term it), without any reference to transvestism. He brings forward a rather similar case of his own in a married man.

The subject has still more recently been dealt with rather fully by Moll in a chapter of his remoulded and rewritten edition of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, entitled "Cony Sexuality Outside the Sexual Impulse."³ He accepts, as a certain number of cases, the conception I had put forward, that they are due to "aesthetic inversion," an exaggerated sympathy with the object of affection leading to imitation and sympathy, the "Einfühlung" of Lipps. He points out (as I have already done) that many such cases really are linked on to the fetishism with which they were originally identified, and

¹ P. Janet, *Les Obsessions et la Psychasthénie*, 1903, p. 391.

² W. Stekel, *Der Fetischismus*, 1923, p. 42.

³ Krafft-Ebing and Moll, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 1924, pp. 572-632.

that the fetishist may easily be tempted to wear the garments he is attracted to; and further that an effeminate inverted fetishist may in consequence of such empathy wear masculine garments, even though he otherwise prefers feminine dress. Moll's own classification (first put forward in 1921) is as follows:

(1) A class of cases, which possibly may not belong to the psychosexual sphere at all, but in which there is simply an obsession taking the form of an impulse to wear the garments of the opposite sex.

(2) Homosexual cases in which cross-dressing constitutes part of the contrary sexual psychic state.¹

(3) Heterosexual cases in which, though the sexual impulse is normal, cross-dressing constitutes part of a contrary sexual state.

(4) Cases to be explained in the sense of Havelock Ellis as due to a pronounced heterosexual desire to imitate and enter into the feelings of the opposite sex.

(5) Cases in which other grounds for the practice, such as concealment or professional occupation, must be sought; that is to say, cases which other investigators have called 'pseudo-transvestism.'

He refers, also, to the further cases, in which the *retour à l'enfance* occurs, and the adult subject finds pleasure in feeling and acting like a child, and is wearing a child's garments; but many of these cases on close examination, Moll considers, are found to represent forms of masochism.

Moll's conception shows a real grasp of the subject by his realization that the mere cross-dressing seldom constitutes the core of the anomaly, but it seems doubtful whether the classification will be found permanently to hold good and he omits the Narcisstic and asexual groups. The cases put down to obsession were not analyzed in a manner which would ex-

¹ *The Autobiography of an Androgyne* (1918) and *Female-Impersonators* (1922) by Ralph Werther (also known as Earl Lind and Jennie June) are an interesting exhibition of this condition from the subjective side. They were published by the New York *Medico-legal Journal* and introduced by its editor, Dr. A. W. Herzog.

ide the possibility of a more definite explanation, and it is clear that there is any decided line of demarcation between cases of the second and third groups and those of the fourth. Some of the cases brought forward are valuable, not only the memorable case of Krafft-Ebing's but another (No. 353) which presents the anomaly in a marked form, clearly revealing its constitutional basis which induced Hirschfeld to regard such cases as representing a special stage of intermediate quality, though, it may be noted, Moll himself fails to find in it a conception acceptable.

Since Hirschfeld's work in this field, the most important effort to carry the investigation further has been that made by the psycho-analysts. Accepting the anomaly in the way first understood by Hirschfeld, and usually adopting for it his name Transvestism, they explain it, in a totally different way, as being merely or mainly a disturbance in the psycho-sexual mechanism, due to influences traceable in early life, and involving a persistence into later life of infantile traits. This explanation is presented as the psychic view of a situation which may also be viewed constitutionally, but sometimes (though not more cautious psycho-analysts) as overthrowing the constitutional view altogether and putting it out of court. It seems to be assumed by the psycho-analyst that the anomaly appears on a normal constitutional basis and is completely explained as a psycho-sexual disturbance.

It scarcely appears that Freud has given any special attention to this anomaly. Karl Abraham, in dealing with "hysterical conditions, brought forward a case which I should now regard as primarily an example of Eonism. It was that of a man who, without apparently any desire to wear feminine clothes, desired to be a woman and in his day-dreams imagined himself physically changed to a woman. There was a tendency to identification with his mother, and, like her, he had attacks of headache every month which he called his "periods." Abraham attributed this to a homosexual impulse-component.¹

¹ K. Abraham, "Ueber hysterische Traumzustände," *Jahrbuch f. psychoanal. Forsch.*, Bd. ii, 1910, and reprinted in the author's *Klinische Beiträge*, 1921, pp. 71-74.

Sadger has brought forward several cases, and he would plain them exclusively on psycho-genetic grounds: the subject, as a child, wishes he were a girl, and, therefore, he tries to be a girl, and thinks he will thereby become more pleasing and more like his mother, or more attractive to his father, since his father admires his mother; it is usually the mother's sister's garments that he first seeks to put on; whether in heterosexual or homosexual subjects, the desire is to be the mother or the father.¹

It is Stekel among psycho-analysts who has most often discussed the nature of cross-dressing, besides bringing forward new cases.² While accepting Hirschfeld's clinical histories, he is completely opposed to his biological conception and refuses to regard these cases as representing one of the intermediate stages of sexuality in the way in which Hirschfeld has been inclined to class them, in a group by themselves, although passing into other groups, and with subdivisions. Hirschfeld, Stekel declares, has overlooked the fact that cross-dressing is really a latent homosexuality, and believes that he has proved that the "so-called sexually normal" Eonists are really masked sexual invert. When we remember that Hirschfeld undoubtedly possesses a wider knowledge of homosexuality than any other investigator of his own or earlier times, it requires some courage to assert that he has here "overlooked" its existence. It is hardly likely that he would overlook the anomaly of which he is the chief expert in a class of cases which was the first to study with care on a large scale. It is more likely that his critic has overlooked some consideration, and that consideration seems to be that we are not entitled to classify a group of cases in relation to a condition which for the most part they never reach. To do so is a regression to precisely the same kind of error as Krafft-Ebing made when

¹ Sadger, *Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, 1921, p. 171. Sadger somewhat misunderstands the view of Hirschfeld, who regards the group of transvestists as co-ordinate with that of invert, and not, as Sadger supposes, subordinate.

² Successively in *Onanie und Homosexualität*, *Die Geschlechtliche der Frau*, and *Der Fetischismus*.

he classified his interesting case of Eonism in relation to insanity. We all, however normal, possess latent possibilities. But it is quite unprofitable, however correct, to classify the general population under the three heads of masked thieves, masked murderers, and masked adulterers, especially when we have to add that the same person may belong to all three groups. On another point—the distinction of Eonism from fetichism—Stekel agrees with Hirschfeld, though not on Hirschfeld's ground. Hirschfeld finds the distinction in the tendency of the fetichist to love the fetich for its own sake, and not as part of himself, while Gutheil (putting forward Stekel's view) finds this distinction superficial, and considers that it is the system-formation of the fetichist which is absent; the garment for the Eonist is the expression of a strong wish, the wish to be a man (or woman), and the garment is used, under pressure of an ugliness-complex, to secure a flight into the other sex.

An elaborate analysis of a female Eonist has been made by Emil Gutheil, Stekel's assistant, under his general direction (W. Stekel, *Der Fetischismus*, 1923, "Analyse eines Falles von Transvestitismus," pp. 534-70).

The case is that of Elsa B., a woman of 34, Government Official, who did not come for treatment but for medical investigation in view of an application to the police for permission to wear masculine clothes, which was in due course secured.

She was a seven months child and delicate in early life. At the present time she is in all general respects normal and with no notable stigmata of degeneration. She is of slender figure with small asthenic chest, but the primary and secondary sexual characteristics are normal and feminine, and menstruation is regular and painless. But in her bearing and walk and ways generally she is masculine. She wears her short hair like a man's. Urination is effected in the standing posture. She wears a skirt but her dress, so far as possible, is approximated to that of a man, so that at a first glance it is not always easy to recognize her sex, and she is thus liable to attract unpleasant attention in the street and several times aroused suspicion during the War. But she cannot bear to wear ordinary feminine things; they have made her feel, she says, even from childhood, "like a dressed-up monkey." She has artistic tastes and plays the violin.

As a child she did not care for girls' playthings and would hide them away. She made no friends among other little girls but played

with boys and found her best friends in books. The question of dress became to her, from early years, more and more a "catastrophe." She was, however, much left to herself. Her father, a solid and serious man, a teacher, who died when she was 2, was 68 at her birth, and her mother was more than twenty years younger. The parents did not get on well together, and the mother was "master" in the house. She was lively and fond of dress and pleasure; she married again, and the child, who detested her stepfather, was brought up by grandparents who did not occupy themselves much with her. This neglect led to mental depression; she felt her inferiority and dreaded the future. She felt, too, that she was unwelcome as her mother had wanted a boy. Her obstinacy and grief over feminine garments caused much trouble with her relations, who could not understand this strange child. At the age of about 12 she received enlightenment on sexual matters from a servant; up to the age of 9 she had not discovered that there were any sexual differences beyond those of clothing, so that to adopt boy's clothing was to become a boy. At the age of 14 or 15 she was much attached to another girl and gratified her affection by kisses and embraces. Her erotic thoughts are exclusively directed towards women, but she believes in an ideal expression of such affection.

She has never had any but a comradely relation with men, and the thought of anything sexual in connection with a man is disgusting to her. A castration complex is the chief sign of any erotic attitude to the opposite sex. But the impulse of transvestism is itself erotic for her. She denies that it depends on any homosexual impulse or on the attraction of the forbidden. The putting on of men's clothing is itself a source of sexual pleasure to her and can suffice to produce orgasm, so that transvestism enables her to dispense with any other source of sexual gratification. She states that she is content with her feelings about transvestism and with auto-erotic practices; she has scruples about homosexual practices and could not bear to think that she might injure the lives of others. It was not until the age of 22 that she cut her hair short and began putting on men's clothes in secret. But it was much earlier, at the age of 13, when still wearing ear-rings and feminine garments, that she first definitely expressed an open wish for men's clothes.

By analysis of dreams Gutheil believed he had detected mother-fixation and a religious complex (Madonna worship). He also found a degree of Narcissism which he finds significant. Her stepfather used to tell her she was ugly; she was very sensitive to this reproach and came to believe it; but dressed as a man she considered she looked handsome and this was a main cause of her attachment

to masculine garments. She found in the mirror that in men's clothes she had a great resemblance to her father. She has in course of time come to hate her mother. She has a younger brother Edward. It was when trying on his clothes that the putting on of masculine garments first caused orgasm. Gutheil finds in her dreams indications of sexual fixation on this brother.

In his final analysis of Elsa B.'s case, Gutheil concludes that the dominant element in her sexual attitude is the Electra complex of which the neurotic expression is identification with the father. In the relations of the girl to her brother Edward there is a new edition of the primary incest-constellation. This identification—an introjection of the object into the ego—takes place when the Electra relationship has to be given up. It is because no substitute, outside the family, presents itself for the incest object which is being given up that identification with the object takes place, and the foundation stone for a homosexual neurosis is thus laid. But as the father died when she was still a small child this identification took place early. In the meanwhile it was becoming clear to the child that she was not wanted by her mother because she was not a boy, that is to say because she was not clothed in the right kind of garments, and later her stepfather made it clear that she was thought ugly. She wanted to be beautiful, and her infantile Narcissism was thus wounded. Then she discovered, in relation to her brother, the real nature of sexual difference, and that it was the absence of certain physical appendages which accounted for her mother's attitude towards her. So arose the castration complex: "There is the thing you lack; cut it off." Whence sadistic impulses and wishes for her brother's death, which had to be repressed. But she still hoped she might develop a penis, until, with the appearance of menstruation, she realized that all hope of this must be abandoned. That was a turning-point in her psycho-sexual development. But she gradually reacted against the resulting depression, borne up by the exhilaration of youth. The fiction of masculinity arose within her, bound up with the desire for beauty and resemblance to her father and her brother, and led to a new sense of well-being. (This "fiction of masculinity" is obviously the same thing as Adler's "masculine protest," and Stekel remarks that Gutheil is quite unacquainted with Adler's work.) Enormous weight is attached to the fact that after on various occasions putting on men's garments, the first orgasm occurred when in her brother's clothes at the age of 15. (As a matter of fact, however, Elsa, as reported, had not said it was "the first orgasm" but "the first orgasm in masculine garments.") The scene has a pronounced fetichistic character and is the expression of a subconscious fantasy that she is now the equal of her brother and

fully entitled to her mother's love, while these are her bridges to a religious complex, supposed to be indicated by a dream in which she seems the son of the Madonna and also her lover. She struggled against her mother's second marriage, and hence she must have wished to take the husband's place. She wears a wedding ring which she bought, she says, because it pleased her.

Elsa B.'s sexuality is thus anchored in her cross-dressing. Clothing has become the symbol of the rejected incest-object. The disposition to homosexuality arises out of identification with a sexual object of the opposite sex. Stekel regards homosexuality as a flight from the opposite sex, determined by perversities ("paraphilias" in Stekel's terminology) and hate-attitudes, especially sadism. So in this case, says Gutheil; and the chief cause of the flight is here a castration-complex; and the full bearing of the complex becomes clear when we realize that the castration thoughts are closely associated with the sight of the sexual organs, so that direct contact with the penis becomes unthinkable, and anxiety at her own criminal thought leads to repression of heterosexual impulses. Sexuality in the homosexual direction is, however, also subject to inhibition in Elsa B., so that we may speak of a diminished need of sexual intercourse. A religious-ascetic complex is detected here, as indicated by a dream in which her cross-dressing seems to be effected in the name of the "Father," the "Son" (Edward), and the "Holy Ghost" (the great miracle of sexual metamorphosis she is awaiting). We are to see in Elsa an apparently free-thinking but really deeply religious nature in whom the polar tension between impulse and inhibition has a fatal operation on the psychic mechanism. A *fellatio* fantasy and exhibitionary impulses are also detected. Sadism and masochism are, further, held to be involved. Hirschfeld had devoted a chapter to Masochism in association with Eonism, but Gutheil and Stekel rightly point out that masochism and sadism are allied; as I have elsewhere sought to show (*Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol. III) they are best regarded as two aspects of the same phenomenon, that is to say, algolagnia, or the influence of pain in stimulating sexual emotion. Stekel, more dubiously, regards the relationship as one of "polarity."

Masochism is thus a reversal of sadism, the sadism being directed towards the subject himself. It is, Stekel thinks, hate towards others turned into hate towards oneself. Elsa's castration complex had impelled her to wish her young brother dead, or at least to cut off the penis she envied. But she repressed that impulse and converted it into an impulse of harshness towards herself. This, however, while it is a partially true statement for this particular case seems to fall into the common error of regarding algolagnia as a manifestation of cruelty. The impulse to inflict pain, whether on others or on oneself,

whenever it arises from a sexual motive, must never be regarded as a manifestation of hate and cruelty. Whenever it so arises we can safely eliminate any genuinely sexual impulse. The real motive is to show love, not hate, and even if possible to give pleasure. And the reason so unlikely a method of manifesting this motive is adopted is simply that the stimulus of pain, when the sexual impulse is weak (as it often is in Eonism)—whether inflicted or suffered or even merely witnessed—does actually operate as a stimulus to the sexual emotions, and no cruelty is really involved, merely the appearance of it. The evidence on this point is overwhelming. Sadism and masochism cannot be understood unless this is realized, and to bring in the motive of hate, obscures the phenomena altogether.

On the whole, it would appear to Gutheil and Stekel—to conclude this summary of a summary—the peculiar impulse to cross-dressing first appeared in Elsa B. about the twelfth or thirteenth year, following on the depression felt by the lack of a penis. In this cross-dressing incestuous sexual feeling was blended with an acquired feeling of beauty. She had become a "man," in the image of the beloved father and brother, and therein the deepest significance of the transvestism is reached.

This analysis is presented as fairly as possible in a very condensed statement in order to make clear the strictly psycho-analytic explanation of cross-dressing, when put forward as completely adequate and as overthrowing every other possible explanation. (It must, of course, be understood that there is no necessary agreement with Gutheil and Stekel on these points among other psycho-analysts.) Certainly it would hardly be possible to pile up a greater number of complexes and perverse fantasies on to Elsa B.'s devoted head. They seem to be plentiful enough to account for anything. Yet one can well understand the sceptic feeling that the psycho-analyst is a kind of spider who spins his pathological web-complex so widely and so elaborately only in the hope that somewhere, at all events, the fly must become entangled. For it is certainly true that these threads are very slight and vague. When we remember how every living being is in perpetual slight movement and perpetually throwing off evanescent thoughts and feelings we realize how careful we need to be before deciding that there is a significance in these tiny facts strong enough to bear one's

big labels. Moreover, with all his readiness to find significance in phenomena that are very slight or very vague, Gutheil passes over, without any notice at all, very definite facts in which he might well have found a grave significance if he had not felt bound to reject altogether the possibility of any constitutional element in the case.

Elsa's father was old at her conception, and the mother comparatively young. That is a known cause of deviations in the offspring. She was, again, a seven months child, and that also is a recognized source of anomalies in development, sometimes even favorable as well as unfavorable when we recall how many men of high ability have been thus premature. Then we are told that Elsa's mother had the temperament of a "master," which Elsa may well have inherited. And we might further observe that the neglect which was Elsa's lot in early life, the absence of parental care and guidance, furnished exactly the favoring conditions demanded by any perverse innate germs. The diminished impulse to sexual intercourse which Gutheil recognizes, and which frequently appears in other cases, completely harmonizes with the view that we are concerned with individuals who are constitutionally abnormal. On such a view, Gutheil believes, it is impossible to account for Elsa B.'s experience of orgasm when in her brother's clothes. But the experience is scarcely well explained on his own view, while it is easily conceivable that the excitement of the long desired assumption of male clothing, especially when associated with the garments of her brother who had evidently been an object of sexual interest to her, should produce a sudden involuntary gush of physical emotion. Stekel and Gutheil believe, and they emphasize and talicise the statement, that an "incest-fixation" is the primary and driving motive of Elsa's cross-dressing, implying that no unborn predisposition is necessary. This incest-attitude (in Elsa B.'s case the desire to take the mother's place with the father)—Freud's Oedipus complex and Electra complex—they regard as the driving infantile motive to the cross-dressing and to the other symptoms associated with it.

The term "incest" (as I have on other occasions pointed out) should never be used in this connection. It can, correctly, only have relation to adults; in the psychology of childhood it has no meaning. For children there is only love for an object of affection, not incestuous desire; in that love the as yet undifferentiated impulse of sex is blended and lost. To introduce here from criminology a legal term which belongs to the law-courts may be a sensational method for arousing the horrified attention of innocent minds, but it brings its own revenge. We are really concerned with a perfectly simple and natural impulse, not necessarily a complex at all, and almost universal, though in degree it varies greatly in different individuals.

Needless to say, it was known long before the psychoanalysts called attention to it, as they were perfectly justified in doing, however illegitimate the name they chose. I know of no better example of it in a well-marked form than Stendhal supplies in his autobiographical book, *Vie de Henri Brulard*, written in 1832, when in middle life, with a rapid pen and complete sincerity, because he was not writing for immediate publication, and only anticipated, vaguely, that what he wrote might possibly reach the eyes of "a reader of 1880." As a matter of fact the *Vie de Henri Brulard* was not published until 1890. In Chapter III, Stendhal describes how he lost his mother when 7 years of age:—

"My mother was a charming woman and I was in love with my mother. In loving her at perhaps the age of 6 (1789) I showed absolutely the same character as in 1828 when loving Madame Alberte de Rubempré (Madame Azur) to madness. My way of hunting happiness had in no way changed at bottom though on the physical side of love there was the difference that Caesar would have found if he had returned to the world to discover cannons and small arms in war. I could quickly learn that and it meant no fundamental change in my tactics.

"I wished to cover my mother with kisses, and when she had no clothes on. She loved me wildly and often embraced me, and I returned her kisses with such fire that she was as though obliged to go away. I hated my father when he came and interrupted our

kisses, I always wished to kiss her on the breast—but please remember that I lost her, when I was scarcely seven, in childbirth.

"She was plump, of perfect freshness, very pretty, though I believe hardly tall enough. There was a fine nobility in her features. She perished, in the flower of youth and beauty, in 1790, when she could scarcely have been 28 or 30 years of age. Thus it was that, forty-five years ago, I lost what I have loved most in the world.

"She cannot be offended at the liberty I am taking with her in revealing that I loved her; if I ever meet her again I would tell her once more. Besides, she never in any way shared that love. As for me, I was as criminal as possible; I loved her charming favors. One evening, when by some chance I had been put to bed on the floor in her room on a mattress, this lively woman, light as a goat, jumped over my mattress to reach her own bed more quickly." (Here Stendhal interrupted the narrative and placed a cross, which was his custom when he intended to revise or complete a passage; we may conclude that this incident had a significance which he has not fully explained.)

Later (Chapter XI) he mentions that some years afterwards he heard his aunt remark that his mother had no inclination for his father at marriage: "That remark had for me an immense bearing. I was still, at the bottom of my soul, jealous of my father."

We could scarcely have a more definite example, in its fully developed shape, of what is improperly called the "incest-attitude" of the child. Yet it is the perfectly simple, natural, and—though Stendhal uses the term "criminal"—innocent expression of a child's whole-hearted affection for his mother. It happened to be a child of unusually vivid sensibilities and unusually acute intellect who was, by his own inborn nature, predestined to genius, and to the troubles which beset genius; such emotional precocity is sometimes found in genius and thus may even be of its essence. But, although we know Stendhal's life fairly well, there seem no pathological problems to solve beyond those due to excessive nervous sensibility. There is no "Oedipus Complex" to pervert his existence and lead to tragedy. We know that love played an important part in his existence, that he wrote a famous book about its psychology, and that he was devoted to a succession of women, not all of whom returned his love. We may regard his mother as the first of these beloved women, but, so far as can be seen, his

love-life in later years would not have been sensibly different even if he had never known his mother. For the details of psycho-sexual experience such as the analyst investigates may be of high importance, but if there is no morbid constitutional foundation which they express they may be of no importance at all.

These considerations are not brought forward in any controversial sense. Properly considered, they should have no controversial bearing. Those investigators who concentrate on the constitutional foundations of psycho-sexual anomalies, and those investigators who explore the mechanisms revealed by psycho-analysis are alike performing necessary tasks. Nothing is now more certain than the influence of the varying balance of the internal secretions in building up the psycho-sexual constitution. Nothing also is more illuminating than the mechanisms which the masters of psycho-analysis have revealed in unravelling the varied experiences of the individual. Both are essential to a complete interpretation of the varied cases that arise. Evil only ensues when, in one party or the other party, there is a failure to realize the immense services which the opposite party is rendering.

Realization of the need to recognize alike the hereditary and innate factors, the acquired and psycho-genetic factors, in the constitution of this anomaly may be noted among the most recent investigations. Thus Dr. Ernest Jones clearly assumes the existence of both sets of factors in all psycho-analytic investigations. Dr. Lothar Goldmann of New York (though his observations seem to have been made chiefly in Berlin) is quite ready to accept both, as regards transvestism.¹ He points out that in many cases the subject shared the room of a sister in childhood, the period to which the aberration may so often be traced back, but as we know that the close association of brothers and sisters is commonly without significance for later life we are compelled to seek for a congenital predisposition.

¹ L. Goldmann, "Ueber das Wesen des Umkleidungstriebes," with many illustrations, *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Bd. xii, Heft 9-12, 1924-5.

Goldmann sees in transvestism "a variety of sexual disposition of high biological and cultural significance." He is inclined to regard it as a form of auto-erotism, but seeks to distinguish between an erotic and a more permanent psychic form of the anomaly. He points out, like other investigators, its comparative rarity in women, and finds that in men when it is homosexual it tends to become less marked with years or with gratification of the homosexual impulses, but in the more prevalent heterosexual cases it became pronounced with age; this distinction seems just. He also remarks how, in the case of a distinguished musical composer, the bisexual constitution involved by the anomaly aided him to reach his highest musical possibilities. On the whole, he concludes that the hormonal explanation of this peculiar and many-sided anomaly is often, without question, the signpost pointing to the right road, but that there are also numerous cases where we need psychology in order to attain a completely satisfying answer to the hundredfold questions involved.

It was by Hirschfeld's important work in this field that I was stimulated to return to the subject and to bring forward my own small contribution. In a study published in the *Alienist and Neurologist* (May and August, 1913), describing four cases of the anomaly, I proposed for it the term "Sexo-aesthetic Inversion," which I used as the title of the study, and also suggested as an alternative the name "Eonism" after the Chevalier d'Eon, the most famous historical subject of this anomaly, to be used as comparable to the terms "sadism" and "masochism." ("Aesthetic inversion," I should say, was the name suggested to me by a man of scientific and scholarly distinction who was himself the subject of this anomaly in a pronounced form.) I pointed out the propriety of invoking aesthetic emotion in this connection since the main characteristic of these people—the impulse to project themselves by sympathetic feeling into the object to which they are attracted, or the impulse of inner imitation—is precisely the tendency which various recent philosophers of aesthetics have regarded as the essence of all aesthetic feeling. It now, however, seems to me

undesirable to use the word "inversion" in this connection as it is too apt to arouse suggestions of homosexuality, which may be quite absent, though it remains true that the phenomenon we are concerned with is one of erotic empathy, of a usually heterosexual inner imitation, which frequently tends to manifest itself in the assumption of the habits and garments of the desired sex; for the important point is that this impulse springs out of admiration and affection for the opposite sex, therefore the subject of it is not usually tempted to carry the inner imitation so far as to imitate the sexual desires of that sex and so to become unlike it by being homosexual; that is how it is that, to superficial view, he seems less logical, less thorough-going, than the sexual invert.

Moreover, "sexo-aesthetic inversion," even if acceptable as a descriptive term, still remains one of those hybrid Græco-Latin compounds which it is best if possible to avoid. "Aesthetic sexual inversion" is misleading, since it would apparently be equivalent to "aesthetic homosexuality." The same subject of the anomaly who suggested "aesthetic inversion" also independently proposed Laurent's term, "psychical hermaphroditism"; but that is not accurate since these people are not always conscious of possessing the psychic disposition of both sexes, but sometimes only of one, the opposite sex, the sex to which they are attracted. Hirschfeld regretted that the difficulty cannot be solved by adopting the name of some well-known subject of the condition as in the terms "sadism" and "masochism," but thought none sufficiently well-known. He overlooked the well-known Chevalier d'Eon who exhibited this impulse very definitely, and I am now inclined to think best the term I had more tentatively suggested in my first contribution to the subject and to call this anomaly "Eonism."¹

Some years ago a man was found drowned off the Cornish coast dressed in women's clothes and with his hands fastened

¹ I have already used it as the title of an article on the subject in the *New York Medical Review of Reviews* (Jan., 1920). Wilhelm in 1914 (*Sexual-Probleme*, July, 1914, p. 500) regarded my proposed name of Eonism as probably the best.

together. Among his effects at the hotel he was staying at were numerous refinements of the feminine toilette and feminine articles of dress. He was a lawyer, practising as a solicitor near London, and regarded by his acquaintances (of whom one is known to me) as an ordinary and normal man of quiet habits. There was no suggestion that his death was due to violence. It was evident that he had sought what was from the point of view of the Eonist (apparently with masochistic tendencies) the most voluptuous death possible.¹

Such a case reveals some of the peculiarities of Eonism. It tends to occur among people who are often educated, refined, sensitive, and reserved. It is for the most part successfully concealed from the subject's friends and acquaintances, even from the nearest members of his own family. It is sometimes associated with manifestations which recall masochism or passive algolagnia. Thus it is in some aspects a form of erotic symbolism which, while it might be classified under inversion in the wider sense of that term, yet has resemblances to erotic fetichism and occurs in the kind of people who tend to be subject to fetichism. It also resembles, in some of its features the kind of auto-erotism called Narcissism or erotic self-admiration. Aesthetic inversion cannot, however, be identified either with fetichism or with Narcissism; the subject is not really in love either with a fetich or, except in one special type with himself.

Although this psychic peculiarity is so difficult both to name and to define, it is, strange as that may seem, the commonest of all sexual anomalies to attain prominence in the public newspapers. There are several reasons why that should be. There is not only the real frequency of the condition, but the fact that it is so striking and so intriguing a violation of our most obvious conventional rules and regulations of social

¹ An imperfectly investigated case (Brand, *Practitioner*, Oct., 1917) of a robust married man found dead in his bedroom in a tightly laced corset and a weak electric battery with one pole to the base of abdomen indicates an Eonist attempting to heighten voluptuous emotion, but may not indicate a voluptuous suicide, as the corset could hardly produce asphyxia and the battery was harmless.

life. There is the further consideration that, since in its simple uncomplicated form it constitutes no violation of our moral feelings and laws, it is easily possible to discuss it plainly in the most reputable public prints.

It may be worth while to quote a typical case thus reported in the press. In the *Alienist and Neurologist* for July, 1895, is found the following quotation from the *Journal* of Lewiston, Maine: "Commander James Robbins, of Cooper's Mills, in this State, is one of the prominent men of his community, a citizen generally esteemed as a man of integrity and intelligence. Mr. Robbins has a brilliant war record. He has lived in the village since 1883, and is a jeweler. His house is a neat cottage house on the brow of the hill as one drives into the Mills. In the narrow front hallway is Mr. Robbins' bench, lathe, and tools, and here you will find him placidly working away at the tiny wheels and springs.

"If you are on sufficiently intimate terms with Mr. Robbins you will find him indulging in his hobby. He has one, like most of us. In his case the hobby is startlingly picturesque, and it may be safely said that he is the most original man in the State of Maine, so far as his curious fancy is concerned. He wears petticoats. Not when he goes down the street for the mail and to do his marketing. At these times he slips on the masculine pantaloons. Yet he does not wear his trousers even like the ordinary masculinity. No suspenders for him. He wears a sort of dress about his hips. He always wears a woman's No. 6 shoe with high heels and graceful, slender shape. Mr. Robbins weighs something like 180 pounds, and the effect produced by those shoes peeping coyly out from beneath manly trouser legs is startling, to say the least. Mr. Robbins doesn't mince or toddle, and his shoes seem to fit him pretty well.

"He reserves his petticoats for the sanctity of the home circle, for the partial retirement of his orchard, and for calls upon neighbors with whom his acquaintance is close. Mr. Robbins isn't squeamish about showing himself in petticoats. He enjoys wearing them; he has worn them when opportunity has presented all his life long, and he wears them scientifically,

too. In the first place, there's no half-way business about it. Every detail of feminine attire is there, and Mr. Robbin is rightly fussy about the details.

"There is no woman in Cooper's Mills who owns so many dresses of such excellent material as does the commander of the Cooper's Mills Post. He takes pride in having only the best. His lingerie is elaborately tucked and ruffled, edged with lace and fashioned according to the most approved models of any lady's wardrobe. The material is of the finest quality, when Mr. Robbins lifts his skirts the eye gets a vision of ruffles, lace and 'all such like' of dazzling whiteness and maculate smoothness.

"He is very particular about his ironing. Everything must be starched 'up to the handle,' whatever that is, and sometimes Mrs. Robbins finds her hands full and her clothes horse loaded down like a pack donkey. Amazed neighbors, who were not fully aware of the extent of Mr. Robbins' hobby, have been obliged to ask for more details when Mrs. Robbins has lately informed them that 'it is Jim's ironing.' Mr. Robbins' hosiery is of the long sort and it is currently rumored that stockings are hitched up at the sides. His corsets he has none, especially for his girth, and these he wears continually. His shape is fairly good, especially when he dresses up for afternoon. In the morning he wears print gowns, for he assists in the housework. Almost every morning Mr. Robbins in his print gown is seen sweeping off the piazza and whisking about the kitchen. He wears petticoats at home almost exclusively, putting on the garb as soon as he enters the house. For afternoon wear his gowns are elaborate. Some of them are made by Mr. Robbins and some are fashioned by local dressmakers. One cashmere dress is quite a favorite, and this is frequently worn by Mr. Robbins when he promenades in the orchard. He has lots of these good clothes, all of fashionable cut, perfect sleeves, and all the fixin's that go to lend grace and dignity. Usually he wears an apron, and especially so when at his best. The apron is white, ordinarily, and has a bib with ruffled sides and pockets. Therefore, does Mr. Robbins present a somewhat

unique appearance as he works away of afternoons, or sits and converses with his wife.

"Look at the gown and you see a stylishly attired woman. But the face is very manly indeed. Mr. Robbins would be marked in any crowd. His face is full and he wears a mustache that possibly owes a colour to art. His hair is long, black and curly, his voice deep and full, and there's nothing effeminate about him except his attire."

It may be added, however, that this case, if representative of one type of Eonist, is not typical as regards the favorable response of the social environment. This is more usually one of petty persecution, so that the history of the Eonist, when less robust and jovial than Commander Robbins, may sometimes turn out pathetically.

Examples of women strictly belonging to the same group cannot so easily and so certainly be found in public records. Most of those thus brought before the world have either adopted men's dress and ways for the sake of greater facility in earning a living, or they are in reality sexually inverted. This is illustrated by the numerous references to women in Pettow's *Krankhafte Verkleidungstrieb*. The genuine Eonist type can be more easily discovered in women who are never brought prominently to public attention, but even then often obscurely. Thus Stekel (*Die Geschlechtskulte der Frau*, 1921, pp. 429-457), gives long fragments of analysis of a woman, anxious to be like a man and unlike a woman; it was rather a complicated case with conflict, and an element of homosexuality, but finally the feminine element conquered and she became reconciled to being a woman.

If Eonism is a deeply rooted natural instinct, of which the possibilities are always latent, we should expect to find it wide-spread over the world among peoples of all stages of culture. We might also expect to find it emerging from time to time even among the general population. Both these expectations are fulfilled even with our present imperfect knowledge.

Among lower races the manifestations of Eonism may occur not only, as in civilization, in a sporadic and isolated way, but also sometimes endemically in groups. So that, one notes incidentally, Eonism may possibly represent, not, as we might have been tempted to suppose, a corrupt or over-refined manifestation of late cultures, but the survival of an ancient and natural tendency of more primitive man.

As an example of the isolated tendency I may quote the tale of a case communicated to me by Dr. C. G. Seligman as served by him during the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits.

"Hiro, a woman of 30, daughter of a Hula chief. On casual examination she seemed rather taller and less fat than the average Hula woman, with less rounded figure. The skin of the breasts seemed rather wrinkled but the breasts themselves looked normally developed. The genitals are said to be normal and the mons hairy. As a little girl she always preferred playing boys' games, and by all accounts she played them well. As she got older she stuck to boys and their games, referring them as companions, and avoiding her own sex. She refused to adopt the girls' petticoat for some time, but at maturity was compelled by threats to do so. She seems to have behaved normally as regards sexual matters, and about 10 years after the onset of menses there was an abortion. She now works in the garden man-fashion, using heavy digging tools, and carries burdens man-fashion. She has refused at least three offers of marriage, and lives with her mother. As far as can be ascertained, she has never had any homosexual relationships, and since the abortion she seems to have had no normal sexual relationships, or, at all events, they have not been of sufficient duration to arrest public attention."

One or two rather similar cases were met, also in New Guinea, in men.

The *sarimbavy*, found among the Hovas of Madagascar, and described by Rencurel and others, have sometimes been brought up as girls because their parents desired to have a girl, but in other cases the impulse towards feminine habits and vocations arises and

persists in spite of the parents' opposition (*Annales d'Hygiène*, etc., 1900, p. 562; Jourdran, *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, Dec., 1903; Emile Laurent, *ib.* April 15, 1911). The *sarimbavy* shun the society of boys, and associate with girls, and as they grow up they wear their hair long and fastened in a knot; they follow women's occupations, dress in women's clothes, and epilate their chins. They show no traces of physical abnormality, no infantilism, and the sexual organs are properly developed. The shoulders are, however, rounded, the muscular system soft and covered by adipose tissue. The voice, also, resembles that of an eunuch; the inflection and timbre are those of a woman; and the laugh shrill. This appears to be due to unconscious imitation. The *sarimbavy* are gentle and timid, and very modest. Although constantly living with women, they have no sexual impulses; erections are rare, and when sexual intercourse takes place, it is only at the woman's insistence, and fails to produce agreeable sensations. There appears to be no decided sexual impulse either in a normal or an abnormal direction, and Rencurel considers that the *sarimbavy* may be regarded as a group apart, that of asexual inverts. We may regard them as asexual Eonists.

The *Pu-Mea* ("men-women") of Eastern Asia, men who are brought up to live as women or who later become drawn to such a life, present an allied phenomenon, though on the borderland of homosexuality, for ~~the~~ *Pu-Mea* sometimes marry men (especially confirmed opium-smokers who have become impotent), and such unions are quite likely to turn out happily. This is especially found in Laos, according to Otto Ehlers (*Im Sattel durch Indochina*, Vol. I, pp. 80 *et seq.*, 116 *et seq.*), whose account is also quoted by Pettow (pp. 19 *et seq.*).

Frazer has touched on this aspect of cross-dressing (*Golden Bough*, "Adonis Attis Osiris," Vol. II, pp. 253-264) and refers to various peoples among whom it is customary for some of the men to live as women. Among the Sea-Dyaks of Borneo this is said to be due to a call in a dream, which indicates the existence of an inner impulse. Among the Omaha it was regarded as due to the action of the moon and began, as we might expect, at the puberty initiation rites. Frazer regards interchange of dress as "an obscure and complex problem," holding that it is unlikely a single solution applies to all cases. There may be a change of sex under the inspiration of a goddess; as perhaps the effeminate Sardanapalus, Hercules, and the priests of Cybele, the womanish priest or king, we may suppose, having "thought himself animated by a female spirit" (just, I may add, as with the Eonist today). Sometimes, again, the object, Frazer

remarks, is to avert the evil eye, while sometimes it is a disguise for deceiving a demon.

In Maarken, Holland, Jelgersma states that the boys are dressed as girls until the age of seven (Jelgersma, "A Peculiar Custom in the Island of Maarken," *Int. Jour. Psycho-analysis*, July, 1925). He regards this custom as "a symbolic castration," imposed by the men to guard against the incestuous tendencies of children, among a seafaring population.

A general temporary impulse to cross-dressing is, so far as our present knowledge goes, still more widespread than its permanent forms. Crawley has brought together evidence of its occurrence among primitive peoples in various parts of the world (A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, 1902, pp. 279-281). Dr. Seligman tells me of what he would term "ceremonial cross-dressing" which he has observed in dances of the Marshall Bennet Islanders in Melanesia, and also among the Lotuko in Africa.

Cross-dressing took place in the Roman Saturnalia. In the medieval Feast of Fools, which, like the Roman Saturnalia, fell in December, women dressed as men and men as women; so also during Carnival. At St. Ives in Cornwall, I may add, it was usual some years ago to keep up the old custom of "guise-dancing" during the fortnight after Christmas, with cross-dressing and the wearing of masks.

In association with these periodic manifestations of cross-dressing through the Middle Ages, fully accepted by public opinion and even by the Church, there were constantly occurring isolated manifestations of Eonism in men and women, and these unfortunate individuals, far from being accepted, were subjected to social contempt and judicial torture and not infrequently condemned to death. Hirschfeld, Pettow, and others have brought forward examples from old literature which could no doubt be easily increased. We may measure the strength of the impulse to Eonism by the dangers which were risked by those who experienced the impulse. It should be added that still today the Eonist often has to encounter the same hostile social attitude, not even the medical profession always constituting an honorable exception. Thus, an Eonist

of high character not long since informed me that a friend of his had spoken on the subject to a London doctor "who became very wroth and said that all such cases should be confined to asylums and those who aided them shot."

The precise nature of "aesthetic inversion" can only be ascertained by presenting illustrative examples of which we may obtain exact and detailed knowledge with the aid of the subject himself. There are at least two main types of such cases: One, the most common kind, in which the inversion is mainly confined to the sphere of clothing, and another, less common but more complete, in which cross-dressing is regarded with comparative indifference but the subject so identifies himself with those of his physical and psychic traits which recall the opposite sex that he feels really to belong to that sex, although he has no delusion regarding his anatomical conformation.

Before bringing forward a fully developed case of each type, it may conduce to an understanding of the anomaly if we consider some of the intermediate stages between aesthetic inversion and the normal sexual attitude.

There are many gradations in the extent to which Eonism may occur. In a very slight degree it is extremely common, perhaps more so among women than men, and especially at an early age. This may be illustrated by the following note written by a medical woman, aged 30, normal in sexual and other respects, regarding her own youthful impulses.

"As a child it was my greatest desire to be a boy; I read only boys' books; boys to me were wonderful beings, the souls of honor and truth, quite different from girls, and I tried to mould myself along lines which I fancied would evoke the admiration of boys. I climbed and ran and swam as well as could be done. The friendships between boys I thought wonderful and quite ideal. And even after I grew up my ideal relationship was always friendship with a man. For a long time I had short hair and dressed somewhat severely. And even now at times I am assailed by an almost irresistible desire to cut short my hair and to be unfeminine, and then at

other times I want to do just the opposite. It is very wearing to be between two fires."

Occasionally, it would seem, this anomaly may exist in a more marked form, but only in the subconscious sphere, and manifest itself in dreams alone, in this rare form corresponding to Leland's conception of "the alternate sex" lying beneath waking consciousness.

I will first present a well-marked case of such aesthetic inversion confined to dreams.

The subject is a Welshwoman, 29 years of age, married two years since. Though not muscularly strong, she is very healthy, entirely normal, tall and supple, with good complexion and hair, fond of swimming and of country life though compelled to live in a city. She is somewhat emotional in temperament, quick, vivid, high-spirited; it is a type not so very rare among her country-people. Her intelligence is of a very high order and she earns her living by literary work. Her ways and feelings are feminine; she is attractive to men and attracted to them. She has never at any time had any homosexual impulses and regards such things with horror. She has, moreover, never masturbated or played with herself. Until marriage, at the age of twenty-seven, she had had indeed, no sexual experiences, auto-erotic or other,—except in dreams.

From the onset of sexual life at the age of twelve, she had experienced erotic dreams, coming usually (as shown by a diary she kept for a long time) two or three nights before the monthly period, which, as a rule, is fairly easy; sometimes a period is not preceded by the dream. These dreams have been accompanied by complete sexual satisfaction, and she awakens, she states, "all thrilling with the sensations—and I've tried to prolong them by lying hard on my face; but in a couple of minutes they've gone."

The dreams have, however, this special peculiarity that, invariably, the dreamer imagines that she herself is a young man of about twenty-three years of age, who is making love to a young girl. She has never had a normal erotic dream about a man, although she has sometimes dreamed of kisses

that had actually occurred. Indeed, in all her very vivid dreams, even apart from those of an erotic character, she dreams of herself in this masculine shape. (She makes exception of a nightmare, to which she is occasionally liable, in which she retains her own feminine personality and is pursued from room to room by a loathsome woman.)

"In these dreams," she writes, "I *feel* myself masculine; in one or two of them I have touched myself and found it different from a woman, and once I saw myself in a mirror and recognized the face as one long forgotten somehow.¹ Personally, I believe I must have been a boy once. My girl is always the same type, though I've only *seen* her about five times, and not clearly. I *feel* her absolutely distinctly, soft-skinned and very full-breasted. The only time I saw her clearly enough to remember, she was dark-haired and light-skinned (as I am), but not of my figure; she was small and plump and had on a weird costume—sort of Turkish, with a scarlet jacket and gold jewels and white trousers and a scarlet close cap on her long hair. The costume I must have got from a picture, though I cannot call it to mind. All this is absolutely apart from my real life and I seldom give it a waking thought."

Some extracts from the subject's diary (after marriage) may illustrate the occurrence of the dreams and their nature.

21st Sept. (Saturday.) I had that dream last night. I had intense feeling but could not see my girl.

24th Sept. Monthly period.

20th Oct. (Sunday.) My girl came. I saw her lying in the scarlet and white costume. She was very sweet and I loved her, *besides* the feeling, which was strong when I awoke. I kissed her very much on the breast. I had a feeling that there was a younger girl somewhere near that I was *supposed* to take, but I kept to my own one because she was so pretty. She was ever so fond of me.

22d Oct. Monthly period.

12th Nov. That dream with a girl. Couldn't see her.

18th Nov. Monthly period.

13th Dec. Violin dream. That violin dream found me so distinctly as a young man that it might be part of the other dream, though I wasn't having the feeling with a girl at all. A party of us—tourists, I think—were in a certain Welsh hotel, in the coffee-room. There is a big mirror over the mantel-piece. I saw myself

¹ This paramnesic feeling (as I have pointed out in *The World of Dreams*) is very common in dreams, even in connection with the most insignificant details.

in a gray tweed suit with a gray cap. My hair was as dark as usual and I was about my usual (woman's) height, but it looks less in a man. I saw myself more clearly than the others—men and girls, I don't know who. I felt myself fond of one of the girls, though she was only one of a vague crowd, but I was quite aware of her—and the young man's love in me was *not* the same as my woman-feeling all through my real life. I remembered that vividly afterwards. I felt I was taking care of that girl, but I didn't see her. We were waiting for tea. There was a violin case on a table at the other end of the room. Everybody knew it was something *horrible* and the girls were frightened. Then the violin case lifted itself up without being touched, and everyone was in a state of horror. I (the young man) had a feeling that I must stand on the hearthrug with my back to the mirror. I saw my own shoulder, and the back of my head in the mirror (I don't see how I did it), I put my left hand up as if I were playing. (I've never learned the violin) and waited. I felt the girl looking at me and I was sorry she was so frightened. Then the violin suddenly flew through the air like a bird from the other end of the coffee-room, came straight at me and nestled under my chin in the right position for me to play. I held my other arm down at my side, and the loathsome violin played a tune as if someone else were bowing, but there was no bow, and no one there. It played the same little tune twice over, and then dropped out of my hands. I turned to the girl as I woke. ~~It was~~ an extraordinarily vivid dream; myself, the room and the violin were as clear as real life; my feeling for the girl was very strong. Only the other people were the usual dream crowd.

15th Dec. Monthly period, I had rather a bad time.

23d Feb. That dream. I saw her shoulders and breast and her face. She held me tight with her hand down there, hurting me. I awoke in pain. (This pain was all up me and in my thighs, like, I imagine, acute cramp. I was not touching myself, both arms being around my husband, who was asleep. In about five minutes that pain went, leaving me light and easy.) Before breakfast the monthly period came. Easy time."

These erotic dream experiences had lately acquired a certain importance in the subject's eyes, owing to circumstances following her marriage. Much as she loved her husband the expected emotions of intercourse failed to come about. The sensations of marriage union, while agreeable so far as they went, were not to be compared with those of the dreams. The husband, who had been without experience before mar-

riage, was ignorant of the sexual life of women and knew nothing of the art of love. He had not only failed to arouse the wife's erotic emotions, he had not even been aware that they needed arousing, or that anything beyond penetration and ejaculation was required of him. Having sought advice, she speedily realized what was amiss, took the matter into her own hands, instructed her husband who was quite willing to learn, and according to the latest report, the sexual union of marriage speedily became almost, if not quite, as satisfactory as the dream experiences.

In these dream experiences we see aesthetic inversion carried to a point which is not possible in real life except during insanity. We see, that is, an inversion which is not homosexual but heterosexual. The interesting point about these dreams is the seemingly complete divorce from real life. It is fairly evident that the subject herself could not explain the origin of the systematized delusion in her dream-life. She set forth her history with an evident anxiety to conceal nothing, however trivial; her motive for keeping a diary of the dreams at one time was the wish to discover the meaning of them. It is possible that more minute psychological investigation might have given a clue to the first constitution of the dream-system, but this was not possible, for the subject, having received the solution of the special difficulty for which she sought advice, disappeared from sight. So far as we can judge of the mechanism of the dream-system from the available indications, it would appear to be determined by the impulses of childish sexuality, corresponding to the age at which the dream system arose.

The aggressive tendency, the homosexual tendency, the tendency to Narcissism are all youthful tendencies, belonging to the period of puberty or earlier, and all appear clearly marked in this dream-system. As regards Narcissism, the subject notes that her dream-girl when seen, failed to correspond in all respects to her own waking self, but the most striking features of the dream-girl were certainly those which the dreamer, when awake, most values in herself. The trans-

inversion as a slighter degree of the same sexually intermediate state of which we find a more advanced stage in sexual inversion.¹ But a little consideration shows that that is scarcely correct. In the narrow sphere of the sexual impulse itself the Eonist shows indeed but little if any approximation to the opposite sex. But in the wider non-sexual psychic sphere, on the other hand, he goes far beyond all the most usual manifestations of sexual inversion. The two conditions are not strictly co-ordinate. They may rather be regarded as, so to speak, two unlike allotropic modifications of intermediate sexuality. Sexual inversion when it appears in Eonism would appear to be merely a secondary result of the aesthetically inverted psychic state. Eonism, when it appears in homosexual persons, is perhaps merely a secondary result of the sexually inverted psychic state.

Raffalovich² has remarked that one is struck by the moral inferiority, the superficiality, the immodesty of the effeminate invert. This remark, whether or not it is true of the effeminate invert, rarely applies to the Eonist. On the contrary, we are frequently impressed by his moral superiority. Like the fetichist, he never flaunts his peculiarity in the public eye, concealing it from all but sympathetic observers who number perhaps only one or two in a life-time. His code of morals is usually the accepted code, held perhaps rather more firmly than usual, and if, as may sometimes happen, he seems to discern a homosexual tendency in himself, he is genuinely distressed. There is little likelihood that he will ever become, as sometimes happens to the effeminate invert, a prostitute.

This is not, indeed, a point of view which always commends itself to psycho-analysts. There are some psycho-analysts who when they see acknowledged signs of homo-

¹ Sadger, from the psycho-analytic side, repels the idea that transvestism can be regarded as a stage of inversion, and Moll, from a different standpoint, refuses even to regard the anomaly as an intermediate sexual stage. Hirschfeld, who champions the doctrine of intermediate sexual stages, is still inclined, as I am, to regard Eonism as primary in the heterosexual and secondary in the homosexual.

² Raffalovich, *Uranisme et Unisexualité*, p. 93.

sexuality, accept them, as most other people do, as the signs of homosexuality. But when they see the reverse, even a strong antipathy, they accept that also as a sign of homosexuality, the reaction of a suppressed wish. "Heads, I win," they seem to say; "tails, you lose." This is rather too youthful a method of conducting mental analysis. We must, therefore, hesitate to follow Stekel who would thus account for the Eonist's frequently strong dislike of homosexuality, and considers that the Eonist is an invert, whose inversion is transferred from the body to the garments that are its symbol.

Thus, on a common basis, we seem to be presented with two organic conditions which are distinct, do not easily merge, and are even mutually repugnant. A large proportion, perhaps the majority, of sexual inverts have no strongly pronounced feminine traits, and even so far as they possess them not infrequently desire to slur over or disguise them. The majority of sexo-aesthetic inverts, on the other hand, are not only without any tendency to sexual inversion, but they feel a profound repugnance to that anomaly.¹

In the two transitional cases I have brought forward there could not be said to be even a question of sexual inversion. In pronounced cases it only comes into question to be rejected. A. T. (as also R. L.) had latterly indeed come to feel that the sexual experiences of a woman were needed for the complete gratification of his state of feeling. This is, however, clearly a secondary development of his aesthetic inversion, and it is a development which the subject himself views with terror. Moreover he is not in fact in the slightest degree sexually attracted to any person of his own sex. The idea is merely an idea, and though it might possibly become an obsession it seems highly improbable that it will ever be carried into practice. In R. M.'s case, although here aesthetic inversion is carried so far, there has never been,

¹ Hirschfeld (*Die Homosexualität*, 1914, p. 233) refers to a male transvestist who remarked that "transvestism and inversion are two diametrically opposite dispositions," and to another who declared that he felt contempt for inverts and effeminate men.

even imaginatively, the slightest homosexual temptation. After he had devised the term "aesthetic inversion," he was himself rather inclined to reject it for "psychical hermaphroditism," on the ground that the use of the word "inversion" might suggest a connection with homosexuality which he would regard as highly repugnant.

Psychologically speaking, it seems to me that we must regard sexo-aesthetic inversion as really a modification of normal hetero-sexuality. Assimilation in dress, Crawley remarks, even from the ethnographic standpoint, "is a form of the desire for union." It is a modification in which certain of the normal constituents of the sexual impulse have fallen into the background, while other equally normal constituents have become unduly exaggerated. What are those two sets of constituents?

In normal courtship it is necessary for the male to experience two impulses which are, on the surface, antagonistic. On the one hand, he must be forceful and combative; he must overcome and possess the desired object. On the other hand, he must be expectant and sympathetic; he ~~must~~ enter into the feelings of the beloved and even subject himself to her will. The lover must be both a resolute conqueror and a submissive slave. He must both oppose himself to his mistress's reticence, and identify himself with her desires. This twofold attitude is based on the biological conditions of courtship.

In civilized human courtship there is a tendency for the first and aggressive component of the sexual impulse to be subordinated, and for the second and sympathetic component to be emphasized. This tendency was set forth many years ago by Colin Scott as the "secondary law of courting" by which the female (who is already imaginatively attentive to the states of the excited male) develops a superadded activity, while the male develops a relatively passive and imaginative attention to the psychical and bodily states of the female. This "imaginative radiation" and "development of the representative powers," is favored, Colin Scott points out, by the restric-

tions imposed by civilization, and the larger mental capacity involved.¹

This secondary component of the sexual impulse, the element of sympathy and identification, may be said to be connected, as Colin Scott seems to have recognized, with an aesthetic attitude. It is worth while to insist on the connection for it may furnish a deeper reason than I have yet suggested for applying the name "aesthetic inversion" to a condition which, as the reader will by now have perceived, is to be regarded as an abnormal and perhaps pathological exaggeration of the secondary component of the normal heterosexual impulse.

The Eonist is frequently refined, sensitive, and highly intelligent. In this respect T. S. and R. L. and R. M. are typical. The Eonist has developed and exaggerated this secondary impulse of courting at the expense of the primary more aggressive impulse. (Carried to the extreme this tendency may become masochism, and we see in T. S.'s day-dreams a slight masochistic disposition.) But this impulse corresponds to the impulse which various modern philosophers of aesthetics regard as of the essence of the aesthetic attitude, an inner sympathy and imitation, an emotional identification with the beauti-

¹ Colin Scott, "Sex and Art," *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. vii, No. 2. It may be noted that Dr. Sabrina Spielrein (*Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, vol. iv, 1912, p. 483) independently confirms Colin Scott's view of the more primary nature of this imaginative attentiveness in women. There are, she says, two directions of ideas in the lover: "In the first, one is usually the subject and loves the outwardly projected object; in the second one is changed into the beloved and loves himself as object. In the man, to whom belongs the active part of capturing a woman, the subjective ideas prevail; in a woman, who has to attract the man, the reflux ideas gain, even normally, the upper hand. Herewith is connected feminine coquetry; the woman is thinking how she can please 'him'; herewith is connected also her greater homosexuality and auto-erotism [Narcissism]; changed into her lover, the woman must to a certain degree feel masculine; as the object of the man she can love herself or another girl who is such as she would wish herself to be—of course always beautiful. I once found a feminine colleague much worried over a succession of envelopes she was addressing. She could not repeat the handwriting she had achieved in the first. On my asking why that pleased her so much, she suddenly realized that that was how her lover wrote. The need for identification with the beloved was, therefore, so great that she could only endure herself as being like him."

ful object. Even though we reject this resemblance as an adequate basis for a name to designate the anomaly, it still seems that the aesthetic tendencies of this impulse cannot be ignored. They help to explain, moreover, why, as Näcke long since remarked and as my cases show, it so often happens that the Eonist is an artist or a man of letters. William Sharp, who published various well-known books under a feminine pseudonym (Fiona Macleod), which was long believed to stand for a real woman, was an artist with the temperament of an Eonist and well shows how almost identical the aesthetic attitude is in the two cases. We are told in the biography by his wife that "scarcely a day passed on which he did not try to imagine himself living the life of a woman, to see through her eyes, and feel and view life from her standpoint, and so vividly that 'sometimes I forget I am not the woman I am trying to imagine.'"¹ R. M. thought he found traces of Eonism in Renan and Rossetti, and he referred to Frank Richardson's novel, 1835 *Mayfair*, as dealing with it. Hirschfeld has stated² that Richard Wagner was the type, even physically, of one variety of transvestist, and that it ought not to be doubtful to anyone that he was in his own life a transvestist, after reading his "Letters to a Dressmaker," surreptitiously published years ago by Daniel Spitzer.³

To me it is more than doubtful. The letters to the dressmaker show no indications of Eonism, even in the narrowest sense of cross-dressing. Wagner simply wants his garments made of silk and satin, cushions of similar material, and light fabrics of beautiful colors—he is very particular about the precise color—around him as he works. We are in the presence, not of an Eonist, but an artist who, after an early life of hardship, was at length able to gratify the repressed cravings of his

¹ Mrs. W. Sharp: *William Sharp*, p. 52.

² *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, Bd. xxiii, 1923, p. 13.

³ *Briefe Richard Wagners an eine Putzmacherin*, Vienna, 1906. They were written in 1864-8, stolen from the dressmaker, and later found at a dealer's. See L. Karpach, *Zu den Briefen Richard Wagners an eine Putzmacherin: Unterredungen mit den Putzmacherin*, Berlin, 1907. Also, Heinrich Pudor, "Richard Wagner's Bisexualität," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Bd. ii, Heft 3.

physical and psychic sensitivity. Beethoven, it is true, liked to compose in an old dressing-gown. But Haydn, who in youth had suffered from living in dirt and rags, insisted on being elegantly dressed before he sat down to compose. It may be said—I have often said it—that in genius, whatever the actual sex, there are elements alike of the man, the woman, and the child. This was emphatically true of Wagner. We may even agree with Dr. Pudor that a feminine element is of special importance for the artist as musician, since “music implies embodied receptivity.” But while this brings the artist near to the Eonist, and helps to explain why the Eonist is sometimes also an artist, it will not suffice to identify them. Similarly, Ruskin and Rossetti cannot be regarded as Eonists, although both of them, even on the physical side, may have presented feminine traits.¹

It is this sensitive impressionable artist's temperament which often leads the Eonist to believe that his peculiar nature has been moulded in childhood by the special circumstances of his early life. We may certainly believe that such circumstances have sometimes been influential. This may be noted with special frequency of the mother's attitude towards her child, and Sadger's cases, also, show the influence of the mother and of love for the mother. It is frequently recorded that the mother took an unusual pleasure in encouraging or emphasising the child's tendency to adopt the ways of the other sex. In T. S.'s case this influence was exerted in a reverse direction; she concentrated attention on the child's feminine traits by her repulsion to them. These are the two opposite ways in which it is possible for a mother to help to mould her child's character in this direction.

The philosophic students of aesthetics have frequently shown a tendency to regard a subjective identification with the beautiful object as the clue to aesthetic emotion. They hold that we imaginatively imitate the beauty we see, and sympathise

¹I may note that Moll independently concludes that the evidence fails to prove that Wagner was a transvestist, Krafft-Ebing and Moll, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 1924, p. 585.

tically place ourselves in it. Our emotions, as it were, beat in time to its rhythm. Lotze and R. Vischer worked out an aesthetic doctrine of inner *Miterleben* on such lines as these. More recently, Karl Groos concluded that the play of inner imitation, inner *Miterleben*, is "the central phenomenon of aesthetic enjoyment."¹ Lipps, again, is a distinguished exponent of imitation and of what he calls *Einfühlung* as the explanation of aesthetic emotion, and he has most elaborately set forth his doctrine. It is very interesting, from our point of view, to note that,² while Lipps on the whole regards imitation and *Einfühlung* as going together in aesthetic feeling, he stops short (where the Eonist does not stop short) at the threshold of sex and declares that here we must make a distinction. We cannot, he says, explain the appeal of a woman's beauty by imitation, for a man does not, for instance, desire to possess a woman's breasts. Yet all beautiful forms, he holds, owe their beauty to *Einfühlung*, and this has nothing to do with the sexual instinct for which the specific form of the opposite sex are objects of a possible real relationship. The aesthetic enjoyment of a woman's figure thus shows clearly. Lipps concludes, that the conception of *Einfühlung* is different from that of imitation (or *Nachahmung*).³

Here we may perceive a deeper reason than we have yet reached for describing the psychological anomaly we are here concerned with as aesthetic inversion. The subject of the anomaly is not merely experiencing an inversion of general tastes in the sexual sphere; he has really attained to a specifically aesthetic emotional attitude in that sphere. In his admiration of the beloved he is not content to confine himself to the normal element of *Einfühlung*; he adopts the whole aesthe-

¹ K. Groos, *Der Aesthetische Genuss*, 1902, e.g. Ch. V.

² See T. Lipps, *Der Aesthetische Genuss in die Bildende Kunst*, 1906, Ch. I.

³ T. Lipps, *Grundlegung der Aesthetik*, 1903, vol. i, p. 147. It may be remarked that Lipps entirely dissociated aesthetic emotion from sexual emotion. Groos (*op. cit.*, 248) considers that we cannot escape the conclusion that the artistic enjoyment of markedly sensual situations belongs to the aesthetic sphere. Lipps (*op. cit.*, p. 148) thinks that it is decadent to involve the sexual instinct in aesthetics.

tic attitude by experiencing also the impulse of imitation. He achieves a completely emotional identification which is sexually abnormal but aesthetically correct. At the same time we may carry this conception beyond the aesthetic field into that of the psychic life generally. Such a conception has, for instance, been worked out by Prandtl. "Every 'you,'" says Prandtl, "every person outside myself, proceeds from a splitting up of myself, and is part of my own me."¹ The Eonist thus becomes simply a person in whom a normal and even quite ordinary and inevitable process of thought is carried to an undue and abnormal length. He has put too much of "me" into the "you" that attracts him.

Physically, it would appear, this secondary and aesthetic element of the sexual impulse tends to assert itself abnormally in the form of aesthetic inversion in those men in whom the primary and more "virile" element of the sexual impulse is defective. In some cases, though not in all, there is a lack of physical robustness. The Eonist frequently shows feebleness of physical sexual impulse. This is not always found but it is remarkably common and is illustrated by T. S. as well as C. T. Näcke regarded it as so common that he proposed to divide the subjects of this anomaly into three classes: The heterosexual, the homosexual, and the asexual.² Such a division, however, hardly meets the situation. The absolutely asexual are probably rare, but the heterosexual are often only feebly sexual. The Chevalier d'Eon himself seems to have shown this characteristic; he was attracted to women but not strongly sexual. The Eonist is more often than not married, and most tenderly and sympathetically devoted to his wife; but he attaches little importance to the sexual act, is sometimes inapt for it, and much pleased if his wife is willing to forego

¹ Antonin Prandtl, *Die Einfühlung*, 1910, p. 115.

² Hirschfeld (*Sexualpathologie*, vol. ii, p. 144) finds that 35 per cent. of the transvestists he has known were heterosexual, 35 per cent. homosexual, 15 per cent. bisexual and of the remaining 15 per cent. most were "automonosexual," or content to find complete satisfaction in the change of clothing itself; a few, he thinks, were perhaps of asexual disposition.

it. Sometimes early masturbation has been carried to an excess conducive to lowered vitality. In the case of A. T. we find a precocious auto-erotic sexuality which was probably a significant factor in the development of the aesthetic inversion. In the very complete case of R. M., a highly sensitive temperament was marked by a lack of self-assertion, an inability to hold his own in conflict with others, an undue suggestibility, which was to the subject himself a source of life-long misgiving. In most cases of aesthetic inversion it would appear probable that the sexual impulse as a whole is somewhat below the average in intensity. But, in any case, it is certainly inharmonious, atrophied on one side, hypertrophied on the other.

Kiernan suggested that aesthetic inversion may sometimes be due to arrest of development. In this way Eonism would have some resemblance on the psychic side to what we find in eunuchoidism on the physical side. Eunuchoidism is the convenient name suggested by Griffiths and Duckworth for a congenital or pathologically acquired approximation to the artificially acquired condition of the eunuch; many complicated and obscure names have been devised for it, but Tandler and Grosz reasonably regard the simple name proposed in England as the best.¹ In this condition we see the operation of under-functioning glands of internal secretion, producing not only defective developments of the primary sexual character, but also a general tendency to persistence of the infantile condition. The sexual impulse usually remains normal in direction, though it is weakened and may be altogether absent.

The psychic characteristics of Eonists sometimes resemble those found in eunuchoidism, and sometimes there are physical eunuchoid characters. Early environmental influences assist, as we have seen, but can scarcely originate Eonism. The normal child soon reacts powerfully against them. We must in the end seek a deeper organic foundation for Eonism as for

¹ Tandler and Grosz, *Die Biologischen Grundlagen der Sekundären Geschlechtscharaktere*, Berlin, 1913, pp. 61-8. B. Onuf, "A Study of Eunuchoidism and its Various Aspects," *American Journal of Dermatology*, Nov., 1912; Stefko, *Zt. f. Sexualwiss.*, Feb., 1927, p. 350.

every other aberration of the sexual impulse. The very fact that the mother of the young Eonist so often shows an abnormal attitude of feeling towards the child should serve to indicate to us that the child has probably inherited an anomalous disposition. The heredity of the Eonist, as also Hirschfeld has noted, seems generally sound, though, as he cautiously adds, that may not exclude a neurotic disposition. Actual inheritance of the tendency seems not usually to be traceable, though it is sometimes; I may note that it is possible that T. S.'s father had a latent impulse of this kind and near the end of his life, when in a delirious condition, he endeavored to put on his wife's clothing. Perhaps the chief reason for asserting the organic basis lies in the so frequently feeble character of the Eonist's physical sexual impulse. It is thus that, in Hirschfeld's view, we may fit this anomaly into the frame of intermediate or transitional forms of the sexual disposition, and regard it as a form of feminism¹; though why the "feminine strain should so operate," he remarks, "that in one case hermaphroditism should appear, in a second gynecomasty, in a third inversion, and in a fourth transvestism, at present escapes our knowledge." To me it seems probable, as I remarked some years ago, that the real physical basis on which this and the related psychic peculiarities arise may be some unusual balance in the endocrine system, inborn and sometimes, it may be, inherited, whence the resemblance, already noted to eunuchoidism, which has been found associated with disease of the hypophysis.² It is also instructive to consider the varieties of partial hermaphroditism. It would seem probable that Eonism, in which the physical signs, though often distinct, are less marked involves a much slighter disturbance in the balance of the play of hormones and chalone, and the path lies open for its modification by suitable gland implantation. It falls short of disease; it is, as Näcke said, simply a variety, though, one may add, an abnormal, in the strict sense a pathological, variety.

¹ Lelewer (*Deutsch. Med. Woch.*, No. 18, 1918) believed he had found in the blood serum of a transvestist substances usually found only in the ovary. See also Placzek, *id.* No. 36, 1927.

² See Blair Bell, *The Sex Complex*, 2d Edition, 1920; also Paul Kammerer, *Geschlechtsbestimmung und Geschlechtsumwandlung*, 1907.

II.

THE DOCTRINE OF EROGENIC ZONES.

Modern writers on sex often make mention of "Erogenic Zones." Yet they seldom formulate the significance they attach to the term, and even of the origin of the term itself and of the nature of the fact it seeks to express, they often seem to know nothing. Liebermann, in a lecture to the Berlin Medical Society of Sexual Science and Eugenics on "Erogenic Zones in relation to Freud's Teaching," stated that he knew nothing of the term except that it is "apparently of French origin."¹ One has even seen it attributed to Freud! It seems worth while, therefore, to attempt to trace in its main lines the origin of this term with its attached meaning. It is the more worth while to do this since no one seems to have pointed out that we owe the term "erogenic zone" to a misquotation, to a lapse of memory.

In the general sense, and without reference to the sexual feelings, this phenomenon has been known from the earliest days when exact medical observations began to be made. It was termed "sympathy." The doctrine of "sympathy" has indeed been traced back to Hippocrates and Galen, but it may suffice to take it up in comparatively modern times. Willis, in the seventeenth century, helped to make clear by his precise observations of the nervous system through what mechanism of the body "sympathy" works, while a century later, in 1764, Robert Whytt (or Whyte as the name is spelled on the title page of his work), the distinguished Scottish physician, in his epoch-marking work, *Observations on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of Diseases Commonly Called Nervous, Hypochondriac and Hysterical*, first dealt comprehensively with "sym-

¹ Hans Liebermann, *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, Jan. and Feb., 1915.

pathy," richly illustrating the phenomena from literature and his own experience. At the outset he discusses "that general sympathy which prevails throughout the whole body," with many examples of it, as well as "a particular and very remarkable sympathy between several of its organs." He gives of these a great number of instances, but none that involve the sexual emotions. That sphere, however long familiar to folklore and to daily life, was still far below the dignity of science. A few years later, the great John Hunter in his Croonian Lectures on Muscular Action (1776-1782) furnished an admirable definition of "sympathy" as "the action of one part in consequence of an application being made to another part," and he distinguished three different modes, not, however, widely dissimilar, by which "sympathy" in the higher animals may work. But Hunter, like his predecessors, never touched on that erotic field in which "sympathy" is so beautifully illustrated, and down to the present his successors have been chiefly occupied with the non-erotic field of synaesthesias, synalgias, and so forth. It is an instructive example of the persistency with which even scientific investigators, throughout the ages, have rigidly maintained the observance of the ancient tabu on sex. This observance is still more pronounced when we approach the next stage in the development of the doctrine we are concerned with.

We arrive, in this stage, at Charcot who may be said to have taken up "sympathy" at the point where Whytt left it, and given it greater precision. Here we are more particularly concerned with hysterogenic zones (*zones hystérogènes*), such zone being a region which, Charcot found, on pressure initiated, or immediately arrested, the hysterical spasmodic attack. It was not really a new observation; Willis and Boerhaave long before, and especially and more recently Brodie, had recognized the phenomenon. But it was Charcot who in 1873 brought it into prominence and first gave it a name in his *Leçons sur les Maladies du Système Nerveux*. He was here concerned only with investigating ovarian hyperaesthesia; later, in 1879, he recognized that it was not only the ovarian region that could

be hysterogenic, but that such zones might be widely dispersed and even of different orders, cutaneous, or mucous, or visceral.¹ There is not the slightest reference to sexual phenomena here, or to any analogy with sexual phenomena; indeed the whole subject of the sexual emotions in Gilles de la Tourette's comprehensive and detailed treatise only occupies a page or two. That was altogether in accordance with Charcot's prepossessions on this subject. He refused to admit that anything so degrading as sex could be present, even when it seemed the most obvious key wherewith to explain the phenomena. Hysterogenic zones, it is fairly clear, may be regarded as a simulacrum, or a compensatory substitute, or a morbid transformation of what later became known as erogenic zones, but to this the Charcot school remained completely blind.

At length, two years later, we reach the region of sex. In 1881 Ernest Chambard, Laboratory Director of the Asylum of Sainte-Anne in Paris, and, it would seem, a physician of some distinction in his time though his name is now seldom mentioned, published a book on hypnotic phenomena entitled *Du Somnambulisme en général: Analogies, signification nosologique et étiologie*. It is a book which reveals a considerable degree of original ability and power of observation, while the cases are freshly and interestingly studied. There is, however, only one passage (p. 65) which here specially concerns us. "There exists," he says, "in the normal state, and especially in women, on the surface of the skin a certain number of regions, comparable to the epileptogenic centers of M. Brown-Séquard, to which the name of erogenic centers (*centres-érogènes*), or some such analogous name, might be applied. Among these centers some are constant: such are, independent of the dermo-mucous covering of the external genital organs, the mucous surface of the mouth of the womb, the inner side of the thigh, the inguino-crural and ilio-inguinal regions, and especially the nipple; others are less constant and vary from

¹ The doctrine of hysterogenic zones according to the Charcot school is clearly and fully set forth by Gilles de la Tourette, *Traité de l'Hystérie*, "Hystérie Normale," 1891, Chs. VI and VII.

subject to subject; they are especially found in the anterior cervical region, the sides of the neck and in the palmar region. These centers are the points of departure of special sensations and reflexes, some bearing on the nervous apparatus of organic life, some on the nervous apparatus of the life of relation, but all concordantly rendering the genital functions obligatory and instinctive. Excitations practised here under certain conditions produce in fact not only a voluptuous sensation but those various muscular actions which prepare, determine, and accompany the venereal orgasm. These excitations must be light and rapid. Thus deep pressure on the inguinal region produces no effect, or perhaps pain, while rapid and superficial contacts suffice to determine in some subjects a well-marked voluptuous sensation. Great irregularities may be noted in the distribution of these centers, not only in different subjects but in the same subject at different times; for the mental state plays a large part in the intensity of the sensations and reflexes which they set up; if too often excited a center loses its sensibility, and under the influence of repeated excitation another appears where it had not existed before." Chambard gives the case of a hysterical girl in whom such centers were extraordinarily hyperaesthetic, even a breath on the palm, when she was in hypnotic sleep, sufficing to cause complete orgasm.

This passage, in which the erogenic aspect of general nervous activity was for the first time set forth precisely and named, is remarkable alike for the accuracy and the comprehensiveness of its statement; it not only presented a sound view of the phenomena, but they were distinctly, and for the first time, set forth as normal, however liable to exaggeration in disordered nervous conditions. Even today it may still be accepted as an accurate statement of the matter. Yet it may long have been passed over, since the volume in which it appeared seems never to have attracted much attention, if it had not been noted by Féré. This distinguished physician and investigator, who was then much occupied with hypnotism and who later wrote the best manual in French on the sexual instinct, was in close touch with the Charcot school and familiar

with the doctrine of hysterogenic zones. He could not, therefore, fail to note the analogy, which Chambard seems to have overlooked, between these "erogenic centers" and Charcot's "hysterogenic zones." In the *Archives de Neurologie* for 1883 (Tome VI, p. 131), in the course of a paper dealing with experiments on hysterical subjects under hypnosis, Féré wrote: "In some hysterical subjects there are at certain points of the body regions (*zones érogènes*) which are not without analogy to hysterogenic zones, and simple touching of which in a state of induced somnambulism determines genital sensations sufficiently intense to produce orgasm." He refers in a footnote to Chambard and he mentions the case of a woman who experienced a copious flow of mucus from the vagina when the upper part of her sternum was touched. A little later, in 1887, in *Le Magnétisme animal* (p. 112), which Féré wrote in conjunction with Binet, we find a reference to the same phenomenon—termed the *zones érogènes* of Chambard—as occurring in some hysterical subjects, and it is added that it only occurs during total, not partial, somnambulism, that it may be transferred by the magnet, and that it is only experienced when evoked by a person of the opposite sex. Again, a few years later, in *L'Instinct Sexuel*, Féré introduced a reference to *zones érogènes* in almost similar words, except that he here recognized that the phenomenon could occur in the normal state. These statements of Féré were less accurate and complete than those of Chambard on which they were ostensibly based, but it was evidently through Féré, and not directly from Chambard, that the term and the idea have become commonly recognized. This is indicated by the fact that Chambard (who had Brown-Séquard in mind and not Charcot) never spoke of *zones érogènes* but of *centres érogènes*, while Féré, consciously or unconsciously influenced by the analogy of Charcot's *zones hystérogènes*, silently modified the term, though still, quite innocently no doubt, attributing to Chambard his own modification. We need not complain, for the modification thus introduced by Féré is an improvement.

In English, it is probable, the first reference to "zones érogènes" occurred in the translation of Binet's and Féré's book, *Animal Magnétisme*, in 1887. Here the term appears as "erogenic zones." It was in this form, consequently, that the word was introduced in 1891 into the great *Oxford Dictionary* with the meaning "that gives rise to sexual desire," and the quotation from the translation of Binet and Féré; it is added that the word is from the French *érogénique*, a surprising misstatement to find in so elaborately organized a reference work, for it need scarcely be said that the word devised by Chambard and since always used in French is *érogène*. Whether the word was used in English during the next ten years I am unable to say, but when in 1903, in the third volume of my own *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, I had occasion to translate the term *zones érogènes* I was not familiar with any English form, having forgotten Binet's and Féré's book which I had read long before, and I adopted the term "erogenous zones" or, as I now prefer, "erogenic zones." The English psychoanalysts have sometimes put forward the form "erotogenous." Whether this is a form to be preferred I leave undecided.

In Germany, it is probable that the first references to this subject (though the term is not used) were made by Krafft-Ebing in one of the numerous editions which he put forth so rapidly and hurriedly of his *Psychopathia Sexualis*. Thus, in the tenth edition, published some years after Chambard's and Féré's books, we find the incomplete and inaccurate statement that under pathological conditions in hysterical subjects, as shown by Chambard and others, regions of the body round the mammæ and genitals may become hyperaesthetic, but that normally in men the only hyperaesthetic zones are on the surface of the genital organs and pathologically the anal region. Bloch supplied a much more accurate and comprehensive account of the matter a few years later, in 1903, in his *Beiträge zur Aetiologie des Psychopathia Sexualis* (Part. 11, p. 192), taking it up, apparently, from my *Studies* rather than from Chambard's book. "All the senses," he here states, "can deliver synaesthetic stimuli to the sexual act, whereby not only

are many erogenic zones formed, but often some special and at first only synaesthetic stimulus gradually becomes essential to complete enjoyment and often itself suffices." Bloch quotes Mantegazza's dictum that "love is a higher form of the sense of touch," and refers to the important extragenital erogenic zones at the mouth and the breasts, but he insists that all the senses possess this synaesthetic action, so that we have a multiplicity of erogenic zones, and such synaesthetic stimuli become of enormous significance in relation alike to normal love and to its perversions. This view of the matter is entirely sound, the only question being whether we should follow Bloch in the extreme extension of the term "erogenic zones" to all the senses, instead of confining it (as, following Chambard and Féré, I had done) to the sense of touch and especially to the body surface.

In 1905 Freud published his notable and widely influential little book, *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, and here first adopted and made wide use of the doctrine of erogenic zones, which fitted admirably into his own dynamic theory of the erotic mechanism. Whence he derived the idea he fails to state, but it was set forth in more than one of the books which he refers to with approval in his essay, notably in Bloch's *Beiträge*. He was also influenced by the paper in which Lindner of Budapest in 1879 had first suggested, on the ground of a significant observation of his own, that thumb-sucking, or in a wider sense *Ludeln*, in young children is a sexual process.¹ Freud deals with erogenic zones, like so many of his predeces-

¹ It is well known that this view of Lindner's and Freud's is widely disputed. Thus Löwenfeld, a sagacious and discriminating investigator of the older school, cannot agree (*Sexualleben und Nervenleiden*, 5th ed. 1914, p. 9) that the infant's expression proves suckling to be a sexual satisfaction, a more probable explanation being that, as in the adult, it expresses simple well-being. Even finger-sucking, which he recognizes as sometimes having sexual significance, in most cases cannot be so regarded (Löwenfeld here agreeing with Moll and Bleuler), but is a manifestation with various significances according to individual constitution. This dispute, however, becomes relatively unimportant when the psycho-analyst is content to assert the presence of *pleasure* in such actions, without reference to what is later specifically known as sex pleasure.

sors, mainly on a pathological basis; erogenic zones, he remarks, and hysterogenic zones have the same characters, and psychoanalysts have since insisted that erogenic zones, being spots of diminished resistance, in hysteria inevitably become hysterogenic zones. But Freud clearly implies, also, that they are part of the normal process of sexual development. Accepting *Ludelm*, or actions of the nature of thumb-sucking, as typical, he states that the erogenic zone is "a region of the skin or mucous membrane where stimuli of a certain kind evoke a pleasurable feeling of special quality." Certain parts of the body are "predestined erogenic zones." But any part may become an erogenic zone, and Freud, following Bloch, is prepared to regard all the sensory organs, notably the eye, and indeed all parts of the body, as possible erogenic zones, though he is careful to insist that the skin is the erogenic zone par excellence.

In early life the pleasure derived from erogenic zones is an end in itself though at the same time a method of education; the first or auto-erotic stage of libido in Freud's view is that in which the sex impulses have no object and their aim is under the rule of the erogenic zones (a view which would justify Chambard's use of the term "center"); after puberty more truly sexual ends emerge, and then the formula for the function of the erogenic zones is that "they are used so that the fore-pleasure, alone gained in earlier life, may now be employed to gain a greater satisfaction." The significance of the zones is that of "by-apparatus and surrogates of the genital organs." As such they are liable to become unduly active in the psycho-neuroses, and especially in hysteria, where the sensibility of the genital region retires into the background and the erogenic zones may take on a compensatory heightened sensibility. Freud also pointed out that the quality of the stimulus is important, especially if it is rhythmic, and also if it involves a warm temperature.¹ He applied his own personal vision

¹Löwenfeld (*Ueber die Sexuelle Konstitution*, p. 42) would add witness as sometimes favoring the action of the skin as an erogenic zone, especially in neurotic subjects, and he refers to the influence of hot baths in stimulating sexual feelings.

to this question of erogenic zones, he investigated them more searchingly and penetratingly than had before been done. Although he found the doctrine and incorporated it in his system, rather than invented it, so that it subsists independently whatever value we may attribute to that system, it seems largely to Freud that we must attribute the general current acceptance of the idea, and of the name, of erogenic zones.

At the present time the existence of erogenic zones is generally accepted, but there is some difference of opinion as to their extent and significance. It may be worth while to mention the opinions of two of the chief authorities, outside psychoanalysis, in the field of sexual psychology. Moll describes erogenic zones as "areas of the surface of the body whose stimulation gives rise, directly or indirectly, to voluptuous sensations," and states that they are often found in early childhood, especially in the anal and gluteal regions, but not often elsewhere, though in adults they are numerous, and varied in different individuals; he omits, perhaps significantly, any reference to the oral region in infancy.¹ Hirschfeld deals more systematically with the subject. "The special proximal sexual sense in human beings," he considers, "lies not in the oral zone or the genital zone in particular, but in the skin generally," and he adds that some skin contacts, which have now become conventional greetings, or expressions of sympathy, as of hand and cheek, may originally have been erotic. It is the kind of feeling, and not the particular spot, Hirschfeld insists, which gives the erotic character, although special spots are favorable to this kind of feeling. He distinguishes eight such spots as peculiarly adapted to be erogenic zones, four possessing hair and also appealing to the sense of smell (head, chin, armpit and pubes) and four with mucous surface (mouth, nipples, genital region, and anal region), of these the chief being the nipple, and Hirschfeld adds that it was a connoisseur in love who in the *Chanson de Roland* said that a man loves with his heart and a woman with the point of her breast.

¹ A. Moll, *Sexual Life of the Child* (English translation), p. 91.

Hirschfeld mentions as secondary erogenic zones the palm of the hand, the sole of the foot, the finger tips, the toes, the knees, the elbows, and the sacral region; he might have added the ears.¹

Freud has become inclined to admit no limits to the zones of the body which may become erogenic, just as there are no limits to the zones which may become hysterogenic. The general tendency is, however, to limit the term to the skin and mucous surfaces of the body to which it was first applied and which Freud himself regards as the chief seats of such zones. That limitation seems to me desirable and convenient. Theoretically, it is true, we may say that the other sense-organs, such as the eye, which are modifications and developments of the original skin surface, are erogenic zones when they transmit voluptuous sexual emotions. But it is undesirable, as well as inconvenient, to apply to a higher sense-organ a term which was devised for the special conditions of a more primitive sense-organ.

However that may be, it has seemed worth while to trace briefly the origin and development of the idea and the name because it is doubtful whether the significance of the erogenic zones in sexual psychology is even yet fully appreciated. Notwithstanding the original clear statement of Chambard, the question has chiefly fallen into the hands of investigators who were primarily interested in the pathology of the psycho-neuroses, and have insisted mainly on the exaggerations and perversions of which the erogenic zones may form the basis. It has not been always clearly emphasized that these zones constitute an important part of the normal sexual process, and that they play a legitimate part in the natural art of love.

¹ M. Hirschfeld, *Sexualpathologie*, vol. iii, pp. 28-29.

III.

THE HISTORY OF FLORRIE AND THE MECHANISM OF SEXUAL DEVIATION.

We are familiar today with the methods and the results of that process of psychoanalysis which the genius of Freud first reduced to a definite technique. We must not forget, however, that both the method of psychoanalysis and its alleviating results have in a less clearly formulated and less deliberately conscious form long been abroad in the world. To recognize that fact is not to diminish, but rather to increase, the importance of psychoanalysis. As Freud and all who follow him rightly insist, the need for a careful attention to technique largely depends on the intensity of the resistance offered by the subject of psychoanalysis and the rigidity of the internal censorship which has to be overcome. When the subject is highly intelligent and fairly unprejudiced, not hysterical or otherwise definitely morbid, and able to feel confidence in the judgment and good opinion, if not actual sympathy, of the investigator, and, at least, is in possession of an adequate medium of self-expression, it may come about that, though the task still needs time and patience, the resistance is less even from the outset, and the censorship relaxed. It is not indeed abolished. In the present case I was careful to play as passive a part as possible, and to avoid the risks of suggestion; but it was sometimes necessary to throw out a question, which was always put in a casual way as regarding some quite innocent and harmless subject. It might then happen that the subject, without the slightest embarrassment or violence, quietly put the question aside as though it were of no concern to her, that I refrained from any comment, and that subsequently she spontaneously showed that the subject thus put aside was of vital bearing on the case. Such a method of investigation naturally takes time. In the

present case the period covered was three years, during which numerous interviews took place, and over sixty written communications, some of considerable length, reached me. While not unwilling to make oral communications the subject was much more accomplished and instructive with a pen.¹ It is on the material thus accumulated that the present paper is based. It is not brought forward as a demonstration of technique and still less as a criticism of technique. The method adopted was the best available under the circumstances,—and, as it turned out, adequate,—for as the subject lived in a distant city continuously frequent visits were out of the question, even if I had been prepared to propose a strictly Freudian technique, to which, moreover, it is improbable that the subject would have easily lent herself.

Some years ago a lady who had chanced to read some of my books wrote to me over her own name enclosing a lengthy narrative by a married lady who assumed the name of "Florrie" and described her obsessions with the subject of whipping and her impulses to auto-flagellation. The narrative was sent as likely to be of psychological interest to me, but Florrie described her distress and her anxiety to be cured, although not aware that I was a doctor. There was no indication that the

¹ I may remark here on the fairly familiar fact that a woman usually finds it more difficult to describe her intimate sexual feelings than a man. This is usually attributed to modesty and reserve, an inadequate explanation since a woman is, to say the least, as ready as a man to reveal objective sexual facts not involving the description of her intimate feelings. Certainly there is the shame felt in expressing anything which, it is thought, may be regarded as shameful, as any sexual feeling in a woman is by some regarded. But beyond this there is the real difficulty of the absence of a medium of expression for feelings which have never been put into words before, so that they can only be brought out under pressure, slowly and piecemeal, and even in the end remain bald and vague. When, however, a woman possesses an adequate medium of expression the result may be quite different. It is significant that all the women, and they are fairly numerous, from whom I have received really precise and instructive records of intimate emotional experiences have, without exception, had some training in literature or journalism, though they may have lived in various environments and different parts of the world. They have by no means lacked modesty and reserve, but they possessed an adequate medium of expression, and when at last the need arose, they could translate their intimate experiences into it, with results at least as interesting and instructive as any man's record.

lady sending the narrative was herself identical with Florrie, and I refrained when replying from making the identification, which was soon spontaneously made, though my correspondent continued to retain the fiction of Florrie in case any letter should go astray. In my reply I asked for further information, explained that the case was not quite so unique and terrible as Florrie believed, and offered advice as to various ways by which some relief from the conditions described might be obtained. Florrie expressed much gratitude for my advice and for my attitude towards her state, assuring me of her anxiety to follow the counsels I had given. Before long she proposed to come and see me, and in a few weeks—not without experiencing shyness and hesitation in approaching the first person to whom she had confided her intimate experiences—she duly appeared.

Florrie appeared as a robust and rather stout woman, her matronly appearance being to some extent belied by a somewhat girlish, slightly timid expression which, however, still remained compatible with a complete and quiet self-possession. She is 5 ft. 6 ins. in height without shoes, 178 pounds in weight (clothed); and, in circumference of the body at the crest of the hip bone $40\frac{1}{2}$ ins., 45 inches at the level of the nates and 25 ins. round the upper, 18 ins. round the lower, part of thigh. The breasts are of moderate development. The hair and eyes are of medium pigmentation, the complexion good, the teeth excellent. Menstruation is normal though slightly painful and she has to avoid undue exertion at this time. Her age then was 37; she had been married for some years to a man about twice her own age; before her marriage she had been an accomplished artist, and also a writer of articles on art and other topics; she wrote well and her articles were published in high-class magazines. She had studied art abroad and travelled considerably, but she had never entered Bohemian circles. Born in a well-to-do family, she had been brought up strictly and conventionally, and had always lived a quiet and protected life in the domestic circle of her relations and a few friends, mostly of intellectual tastes, who had never regarded her as in any

way peculiar or abnormal; apart indeed from her secret obsessions, she appeared to be, then and always, the "practical commonsense sort of person" she termed herself, so that she was all the more worried by aberrations which seemed to her a kind of madness. She had not confided her obsessions to anyone, with a partial exception which will be duly recorded, not even to her husband.

Florrie is the child of healthy parents, and on both sides the health of the family generally is good, though among her uncles and aunts there had been one or two cases of insanity. At least one member of the family was a man of high intellectual distinction. There was probably a slight strain of anomaly in Florrie's father, but Florrie had not been conscious of this. She herself had always been healthy and robust, full of physical and mental energy, though latterly she had complained of a tendency to lassitude, irritability, headache, and, as she imagined, some heart-weakness, these slight symptoms being, however, mainly due to absorption in her imaginations and the worry thereby caused. Since being haunted by this craving she had become lazy, and during the past year fatter, and felt that she had declined mentally, morally, and physically.

Florrie was brought up as a child among her brothers. She was not inquisitive about sex matters and cannot remember that the children ever discussed their physical differences; nor did they ever play any games involving personal display. While a healthy child, and never subject to any but trivial illnesses, she was shy and always strictly taught to refrain even from romping because that might display her underclothing; for this reason she was not allowed to disport herself on the see-saw since the boys next door might see too much. She thus gleaned that there was a certain mystery and secrecy to be observed; she regarded it as quite proper, since certain natural functions were always attended to in private. When about six years old she was once left alone in a wing of the house where some workmen were being employed. One of them, a lad of sixteen or seventeen, came up to her as she sat on the floor quite alone, and tried to raise her petticoats, ask-

ing to look up them. She repulsed him, as a "rude boy," with much childish indignation. When, baffled by the closed drawers, he tried force, she screamed and he desisted. She was too ashamed ever to tell anyone.

As a child she was from time to time whipped by her father for childish naughtiness. She loved and respected her father and accepted the punishment, painful as it was, as being in the order of things, though she would have resisted it from anyone else, especially a woman, even her mother. She now realizes that this punishment was unnecessarily severe, and that as she was not a troublesome or rebellious child, milder methods would have been easily effectual. An ignorant and foolish governess who favored her brothers and disliked Florrie was the cause of the mischief. When the little girl failed to please her, she would become furiously angry, shake her violently, and finally drag the child, now violently resisting and screaming, up to her father's room. Her appearance condemned her, and her father, without asking any questions, would assume a fierce expression, thus still further frightening the timid and already terrified child, take down a small lady's riding-whip,—possibly imagining that being small it was less painful, though really, Florrie remarked, the most effectively painful weapon that could be selected,—and order the child to go to his dressing room, the room from which noise was least likely to be heard. Having locked the door, he would stand over her, raising her clothes, gripping her by the back, and making her bend forward until her drawers were stretched tight. Then he would apply the whip, the more vigorously the more the child screamed and begged for mercy, and threatening in angry tones to whip her till the blood came, though the pain was so acute that she could not help screaming. Then he would send her back sobbing to the governess, who always greeted her with the remark: "If you don't stop sobbing at once, I shall take you upstairs again." But much as she dreaded a repetition of the performance, she sometimes could not stop sobbing for an hour. There may seem to be a rather abnormal cruelty in the father's attitude, though it must be remembered

that he cherished all the old-fashioned notions concerning the treatment of children, and it is likely that he regarded himself as merely carrying on a proper and necessary tradition. Florrie bore him no ill-will, and when afterwards he would kiss her and hope she would be good she felt truly thankful. "I can remember now," she writes, "the curious feeling of shame and shyness when I met him afterwards, turning away and wanting to hide my red face because I was so ashamed of having been whipped, then a thrill of delight when he took me in his arms." But the governess she never forgave, and when ten years later she chanced to meet her, she avoided even shaking hands. These whippings finally ceased when Florrie was sent to school.

I have narrated these incidents in their details (though with fewer details than Florrie herself), all of them significant, because we here come upon the main clue to the chief manifestation of the sexual impulse which has so far taken place in Florrie's life. Intense, vivid, and enduring as these childish experiences were, however, it is only in the course of the present investigation that Florrie came spontaneously to see that there was any connection between her early experiences and the later experiences which were yet in substance identical, or that there could be any association between whipping and the sexual impulse. Such failure to see an obvious connection may seem surprising, but in mental analysis one is used to such failures. "I cannot describe my feelings of shame, mortification, and above all, the wish for concealment, they were so intense," she wrote. "Nothing would have induced me to mention the subject to my girl friends, and my brothers were good enough not to allude to it. I feel ashamed of it to this day, and even now could not tell any ordinary person. I could not know then why I felt it so shameful and degrading, and even now I cannot always analyze truthfully, but I am inclined to think the almost abnormal shame was due to the fact that the punishment was inflicted on the buttocks, with me a sexual center. I should not have felt so utterly ashamed of a box on the ear, or being whipped on the hands. It was a sort of sex shyness and shame."

In addition to this poignantly emotional group of infantile experiences, destined to become the unconscious germ of a later psychic flagellational impulse, we have to record another group of at first sight unrelated experiences—less intense but more chronic and more the subject of childish intellectual speculation—centering in the function of urination. It should be stated at the outset that Florrie never suffered from true nocturnal enuresis. She remembers sometimes as a child dreaming that she was urinating, and on rare occasions she actually wetted the bed, but this may happen occasionally to quite normal children. Her earliest impressions in connection with urination probably lie too far back to be recalled nor were they made permanent, like those of whipping, by pain and terror. When about five or six, however, she distinctly remembers being taken for a country walk by her nurse, and before they approached the destination, a friend's house, her drawers were unbuttoned and she was held over the grass. Nothing came, and the nurse fastened her up again, repeating the performance ten minutes later with the same result, whereupon the nurse began to scold. The third time she ~~was~~ very cross and smacked the child's bare bottom until Florrie yelled; still sobbing and protesting, she was held out again, and a considerable stream flowed on to the grass. She still recalls kicking and struggling, and crying out "I can't! I won't! I shan't" as well as her surprise and mortification at hearing the rushing sound that announced that, nevertheless, she was doing what she was refusing to do. The nurse was triumphant at her conquest over the child's obstinacy, and subsequently adopted the same method when she considered it necessary. Of recent days Florrie has perceived here an early blending of the ideas of urination and whipping. There were others. She notes that the very sight of the whip used to produce, from fear probably, a desire to urinate. Once, after being whipped, she returned sobbing to the schoolroom and a sudden stream flowed on to the floor, which she was too agitated to heed, though it evoked threats of another whipping from the governess.

As often happens in childhood, the function of urination occupied much of the place in Florrie's mind which at a later age is normally occupied by the functions of sex, of which she had no knowledge and never heard. She was not tortured by curiosity about the opposite sex because from infancy she had been accustomed to see her little brothers urinate and so there had been no mystery. At an early age, about seven, she was given a bedroom of her own, and was discouraged from going into the boys' room. But she vaguely remembers that they played a sort of urinary game, putting their hands in the liquid without disgust. (There was not, then or later, any special interest in the act of defecation, though when she had reached the age of thirteen and was trying to puzzle out how babies are born, she thought it must resemble the act of defecation.) Such games, she felt, ought to be kept a close secret. If any attempt had been made, however, to play with what she regarded as the urinary parts she would have revolted, but no such attempt was ever made. No childish friends made any sexual advances, and being brought up very strictly, and surrounded by nurses and governesses, there was, in any case, little opportunity. In spite of punishments, much care was lavished on her, and she had expensive toys and frocks from France, though she would much have preferred to play freely with her brothers. In the winter the family lived in a town, in the summer in the country. It was chiefly during the summer that Florrie's interest in urination was cultivated, especially out-of-doors. The ordinary use of a vessel gave her no extraordinary pleasure; it was too closely associated with the routine of the nursery. When the act touched the forbidden its pleasure was always heightened. She enjoyed the sight of her brothers doing it out of doors and envied them the superior advantage of a specially constructed organ for that purpose. "My earliest ideas of the superiority of the male," she adds, "were connected with urination. I felt aggrieved with Nature because I lacked so useful and ornamental an organ." No teapot without a spout felt so forlorn. It required no one to instil into me the theory of male predominance and superiority.

Constant proof was before me." Still, in the country the act was always natural and delightful, and she found special methods of adding to its enjoyment. The choice of quaint and unexpected places added a good deal. Nothing could come up to the entrancing sound as the stream descended on crackling leaves in the depth of a wood and she watched its absorption. Most of all she was fascinated by the idea of doing it into water. "When I was in my bath I remember distinctly wondering if it would be possible under water or whether the water all round would prevent this performance. I finally indulged in the experiment, and bubbles (if I remember rightly) came to the surface. I was delighted. I also thought it would be pleasurable to do on to the water, and to hear it going in. I went so far as to try the experiment with a little girl cousin when the nurse was out one evening. I artfully impressed upon the child the necessity of doing it. She replied she didn't want to. I tried to coax her by offers of sweets and toys, but in vain. Children are so suspicious and fortify themselves against the unexpected. In this case the child was accustomed to the ministrations of the nurse and could not understand my officiousness. I was only a child myself (about eight) but I distinctly remember my vexation. I had always been fond of her and she wouldn't please me. Yet she was too young to be shy; it must be a kind of inherited feeling. (One sees the same trait in young girls, and always most in the ignorant; also in the suspiciousness of country people when asked to pose for a moment for an out-door sketch, while children run away. The unusual startles them.) To return to my tiresome cousin, I became so annoyed that I told her she *must* do it, and began to unbutton her drawers. The only effect was a fearful howl which I feared might be heard. But my mind was made up. In spite of struggles and kicks and attempted bites, I led her to the bath. Then a fresh outburst when she found that she had to do it in an unusual way. I had intended to hold her over the bath, but she struggled so violently that I finally contented myself with making her sit on the edge, and in this position she did (intentionally or not) a good stream to my delight. I

watched it with gratification tinging the water below, and was sorry when it ceased. Then I lifted down the tiresome child who continued to sulk and of course told the nurse, whereupon I was chidden for letting her do it in the bath. All this is stamped on my memory. It must be uninteresting to an outsider, but it was a distinct episode of my childhood."

Florrie's youthful investigations of urination, both in others and herself, were hampered by the peculiarities of childish knickers. She remarks that it may seem a trivial thing to mention, but that she is sure it was significant. Those unfortunate garments constantly interfered with her experiments. Except when dressing or undressing there was no freedom, and even then it was usually checked. There was, however, one way in which she managed to defy everyone, for, as she now looks back on it, she regards it as intentional. She distinctly recalls wanting very much to urinate when out for a long country walk, but refusing to say so. This could go on for a long time, until, being unable to hold out any longer, she would let it come without any preliminaries of unbuttoning and squatting. "I can distinctly remember the strange and delicious sensation of this forbidden delight, and also my puzzled feeling that it came standing. It came in such a torrent that it filled my drawers like air in a balloon and remained there a little time before it could soak through to betray me, though the fact that I had to stop walking helped to give me away, and I was hauled home. Sometimes, however, I escaped unobserved, and nothing happened except that I was left sore with the wetness."

Florrie again and again spontaneously recurs to what she now regards as the great significance of the child's drawers, not only as bearing on her own later psychic evolution, but as influencing the ideas and conventions of women generally. "It was not only a source of annoyance to me that I had to unfasten my drawers and then squat down for fear of wetting them in front, but the flap at the back, which must be removed to uncover the posterior parts during the act, accounts for my early impression that in girls this function is connected with those parts. It seems a trifling thing to notice, but in the world

of clothes our ideas, when we are quite young, are colored by those unphysiological facts. The first distinction in sex that impressed me—the one great difference in sex—was that boys urinated standing and that girls had to sit down. I regarded that as a fundamental distinction of great importance, and never doubted its necessity. To this day I know of grown-up women who simply exclaim in horror at the notion of standing up: 'But I couldn't! It can't be done! How unnatural!'¹ Last year I saw when at Portsmouth a novel 'urinette' for ladies, a quite new, up-to-date smart arrangement, without a seat; one had to stride across a boat-shaped earthenware grating. Ladies went in, and came out again with horrified faces. They simply *couldn't* they said! There is thus a deep-rooted impression among women who have never made any close observation that the urinary organs are differently placed in women, and that this is a chief sex difference. I am sure I harbored the idea for a long time. It seems to have been another source of my juvenile notion of the connection between urination and whipping. This could never happen to a boy, who is brought up to know a clear distinction. But in my case both these experiences were associated with the unbuttoning of my knickers at the back. The fact that my earliest feelings of shyness were more associated with the back than the front may have thus originated. These things seem trivial but are significant."

It has been necessary to present these childish experiences in some detail, for we herewith see constituted the infantile germs which in their psychic development were to play so large a part in later periods of Florrie's intimate psychic life. There yet remains for consideration the soil in which these two germs grew and gathered strength, the soil without which they would probably have perished. This soil was furnished by day-dreaming.

¹ It may be mentioned that there is nothing "natural" in the feminine custom of squatting to urinate, and among some peoples, while the men squat, it is the custom for the women to stand, as it was (according to Herodotus) in ancient Egypt and (according to Giraldus Cambrensis) in Ireland.

As a child Florrie was much attached to day-dreaming, but she cannot definitely recall any day-dreams that belong to an earlier age than eight or nine. They never led up to masturbation, or to touching herself, or to any other physical procedure, and were never accompanied by any conscious physical excitement; this was not due, then or later, to any deliberate restraint from masturbation; she had never heard of it, and she never experienced any spontaneous impulse prompting her to attempt it. The whole process was entirely mental, and though she thinks there must have been accompanying physical sensations, these have left no abiding memory. Day-dreaming has, however, throughout, been an important sedative influence in her life (even allaying, she states, any tendency to worry or perturbation) and she is assured that, notwithstanding all it has led up to, it has yet greatly contributed to her physical and mental well-being. At one rather early period, indeed, she feared it might be a sign of insanity, for it seemed to her so odd to experience this impulse to imagine without a purpose. She now plainly discerns that, unknown to herself, there was a purpose; that day-dreaming has a sex origin and is an automatic psychic attempt at sexual relief. As is usually the case, she regards day-dreams as belonging to an extremely private and secret sphere, not easily to be divulged, and then only to a sympathetic hearer, for it is, as she expresses it, "rending the veil from the holy of holies."

The earliest day-dreams are only vaguely recalled. Throughout they always centered in whipping or in urination; it is not clear which came first, and at an early date they tended to be united. When whipping predominated she was the passive subject, in day-dreams of urination the active subject. (In the actual dreams of urination in childhood she was the actor, a normal condition.) An early type of day-dream, and the favorite form, dealt with naughty conduct for which she was whipped in very tight drawers; in this day-dream the feeling of tightness and pressure was more prominent and important than the idea of whipping, and this feeling was in front rather than behind; she now considers, no doubt correctly, that it was

associated with a full bladder. (In this connection she refers to the sexual attraction for some persons of the idea and the reality of tight-lacing.) She notes also that in her day-dreams she took delight in the very sense of humiliation which was so painful in real life. In the day-dreams the unsympathetic bystander became shadowy and unreal, it was her own shame that became most important. She had no day-dream in these early days of anyone wanting to give her pleasure, but only to cause her pain and shame. As she now rightly realizes, this delight in shame was an early form of sexual pleasure.

She enjoyed books in which whippings were described. But at the age of thirteen, when menstruation began, her power of imagination increased, the day-dreams grew more vivid, and can be recalled in detail. At this age a favorite day-dream, with numerous variations, was connected with the idea of a school where girls were treated very strictly. "None of the opposite sex figured in these dreams," she writes, "nor did I then suspect their undoubtedly sexual origin. My particular horror of others knowing that I had been punished led me to imagine the whipping, with which the day-dream always began, as taking place before the whole school. I was either leaning on a desk or bent forward in the middle of the room. Sometimes the whipping took place in tight drawers which pressed on the bladder or sex parts. Sometimes the drawers were unbuttoned and I was exposed to view with great chagrin and shame. I read in a book that at some girls' boarding-schools in the olden time, it was the custom to undress the victim and put on her a chemise reaching only to the waist; thus attired and mounted on a servant's back she was whipped before the whole school. This was a new idea for my day-dream and included much extra shame. In addition to the whipping it was announced that I was to urinate before the whole school. I think the idea originated in the fact that I was sensitive and ashamed about that function, and also that I had done it actually sometimes after being whipped. So I went through the whole episode, taking a shuddering delight in having my clothes stripped off and the punishment chemise put on. I experienced

agonies of shame as I was led thus exposed into the school-room. I was hoisted on the back of a strong country girl who wore a dress very much open at the back and neck, so that I remember realizing the sensation of sitting on her shoulders with a leg on each side of her neck, and my parts pressing against her soft neck and back. While I indulged in this day-dream I lay in bed with my face downward and this may have induced the sensation of a nice warm neck. After I had pictured to myself a dozen strokes of the birch, and my wriggling condition of pain, curiously mingled with gratification, I would imagine that I was slipping down and that someone came and pushed me up from behind, the hand under my bare behind giving me a most pleasurable feeling. Then I would lean forward against the warm neck and imagine that I was relieving myself there and then, unbidden, taking delight in the trickling of the warm stream against the bare flesh. Other forms of the day-dream included having to urinate against my will, an idea that gives one a curious sense of gratification." She never connected these day-dreams with sex; men and boys never at this time entered into them, only very stern members of her own sex, sometimes, however, half-fabulous creatures, bad fairies, who were punishing her and seemed to control her existence. It was not till about the age of fifteen that men entered the day-dreams, always in a very paternal and authoritative way, evidently, though this seems not to have occurred to her, in the image of her father. But at about this age the day-dreams seem to have begun for a time to recede into the background.

The presence of the school imagery in these day-dreams was doubtless due to a change in her own circumstances. At the age of thirteen she had gone to a boarding school. This age was indeed an important epoch in her life. It was the year in which menstruation began, although this eruption of the physical sexual life seems to have made little conscious impression. (It may be noted that she was informed by a girl friend that the menstrual flow comes from the urinary passage, a belief, adds Florrie, which her informant, now a married woman with children, still holds.) It was also the year of her

first religious experience, and there was a second phase of religious enthusiasm at the age of sixteen, a phenomenon which may be regarded as quite normal; in Starbuck's curve of the age of conversion in girls the chief periods of climax are precisely at the ages of thirteen and sixteen. In Florrie's case, however, religious interests and experience scarcely attained to the acuteness of conversion, although she desired and sought that consummation. "I remember kneeling and trying hard to get the feeling that the moment had come," she writes. "I was told it would come all at once, and I should suddenly feel it. But I never experienced that kind of religious orgasm, and I felt that something must be lacking in me since others realized their fondest hopes. I spent a lot of time in thinking about spiritual things, of the mystical union with Christ, and as I look back I think this religious day-dream took the place of sexual day-dreaming." She adds: "I think the love of religion is truly of a sexual character because it is usually marked by a great reticence, the sort of secrecy one has about sexual day-dreams; a kind of shyness, even shame, makes one unwilling to refer to one's most intimate experiences. Anyhow that was how I felt." Although the religious day-dreams proved no permanent substitute for those of the earlier type they gave a serious blow to the latter, which between the ages of thirteen and sixteen seem to have died out. This must be regarded as normal.

Although Florrie's early day-dreams vanished and although menstruation was normally established, there was no manifestation of sexual emotions or of sexual interests. There was nothing in her life to stimulate such emotions or interests. No one talked to her on such subjects. She was completely ignorant, and no one made love to her. When a little later she had sentimental attachments they had no physical side. At school everything was "high-class" and "ladylike"; the education was of an old-fashioned and paltry character, but the girls were watched like convicts. They never discussed sex subjects. Florrie remained completely ignorant and not very inquisitive. At a later school the girls would flirt in a harmless way with boys and write notes, but Florrie took no interest in this. U₁

to the age of thirteen she believed that a gipsy brought babies; then she was told that women bore them, and she believed that it was in their bosoms. The suckling of babies interested her and when she first saw it at the age of nine it caused strange sensations ("sort of thrills"). It seemed to her very indecent and made her feel shy. She thought it was just like urinating in public. Again, at the age of sixteen, she experienced the same sensation, though she has never had any homosexual feelings; on this occasion when a mother was retiring from the room to suckle her baby, one of the company begged her to remain: "Why not here? Why should we object? It is Nature." Florrie remembers reflecting over this argument, and wondering what the company would think if she raised her skirts and did a stream on the floor, calling it "Nature." It is interesting to observe here the significant fact that urination occupied in Florrie's mind the place of the typically natural function. It may be noted that her strong feeling of shyness in relation to the act of urination still continued. She disliked accomplishing it in the presence of another girl and was sometimes unable to do so. This shyness remains to the present day. She dreads sleeping with any other woman because she would hate urinating before her. This shyness, as she now realizes, indicates that the sexual feelings are involved. It is further indicated by the fact that she feels differently to men. "The shyness would disappear to a certain extent," she writes, "before a sympathetic member of the opposite sex. A kind of shame, really strongly felt, would still remain, but this would add to the pleasurable feeling; for it is in the breaking down of reserve that one gets a sex feeling. To pass the barrier before anyone to whom I am indifferent is a great trial. It may seem absurd for a woman to be more shy about this before another woman than before a man; but such is the fact, and I now think that this alone proves the sex factor in urination. It becomes, as it were, a kind of sex act." In this matter, also, Florrie expresses a feeling which is quite commonly felt by completely normal women.

We have seen that the establishment of puberty brought no development of the specific sexual sensations, and that neither

were the experiences of religious emotion deep or permanent. Art, and intellectual interests related to art, constituted the channel along which Florrie's energies chiefly ran during adolescence and later. She displayed a real taste, if not aptitude, for painting, and she worked hard. She attained a considerable degree of accomplishment and used to exhibit. As she began to travel abroad with her family to Italy and elsewhere she devoted much time to the intelligent study of pictures and sculpture. She enjoyed going on sketching tours. At the same time, she was beginning to take an interest in social questions, and at the age of sixteen had already become an enthusiastic adherent of women's suffrage. With the development of these absorbing new interests and activities, her day-dreams, alike on flagellistic or vesical themes, faded into the background.

At the time, however, when the period of adolescence came to an end, when Florrie was just about twenty-one, an incident occurred which re-awakened her interest in urination on a new side. It may seem a trivial incident, but in Florrie's memory it stands out as "a feat of great audacity," and it has so much significance in her psycho-sexual development that it may be well to narrate it exactly in her own words: "We were living in the residential part of a large English town and I was paying calls. At the last house I had stayed half an hour and as I then experienced a great need I determined on quitting the drawing room and being shown out to ask the maid if I might retire. This was all settled nicely in my mind, but it never came off. When I rose to go, my hostess expressed a wish that I should see her conservatory, and we all went into the garden accompanied by the son of the house. It followed naturally that I had to make my exit from the garden directly into the road. By this time further delay had made matters worse. I felt that I could not wait any longer. There were no shops near, only houses, and I could not find any sheltered spot. I at once realized how utterly impossible it would be to squat down, so I determined to make the attempt standing, though I felt very nervous and doubtful as to my probable success.

There was no rain to help matters, and the pavement was white and dry. I was afraid to stand in the gutter for fear of attracting attention, but I stood on the extreme edge of the curb and looked down the road as though I was expecting somebody. No one was in sight, and I determined to be as quick as possible, but to my mortification it wouldn't come. I suppose I had put off too long. At last, after waiting what seemed to me a tremendous time (although probably only a few seconds!), I felt it beginning to come. For fear of detection I had refrained from standing with my legs a little apart, and the result was that a great deal went into my drawers and soaked them straight off. Afterwards, the stream penetrated, and came with terrific force on the pavement, and terrible were my feelings when I saw it meandering from under my skirt and running down the pavement instead of into the gutter. To help matters I placed one foot in the road and was covered with confusion when I saw three persons approaching. I remember shutting my eyes, as though if I did not see them they would not see me! I was rooted to the spot, I felt detection was certain if I moved, and I was sure as they passed that they must have heard the sound, and seen the stream. As soon as they had gone I moved on and came to another turning. Here I found a house for sale, and as the gate was open into the garden it immediately occurred to me that I had by no means finished, and I hid near a bush, whilst apparently engaged in surveying the house. I was now on grass and felt fairly secure. I was standing up, and for the first time realized that it was a nice sensation, and a delight to do it like this. Several persons passed, but that rather added to the charm, since I was secure. A first experience is not forgotten. After that, and finding that it was quite possible to achieve this feat without much difficulty, I had other experiences."

Before discussing the psycho-sexual significance of the long series of incidents of which this was the first—so vividly remembered and narrated after more than fifteen years—it may be necessary to point out that it was not really the first occasion on which Florrie had urinated either in the standing

position or in the street. This comes out in another communication in which Florrie is specially describing the feelings of modesty and shame associated with this function.

"I remember, even as a child (five or six) that it gave me a kind of shock when I did it standing. It seemed so horribly audacious and bold. This idea was confused in my childish mind with the other idea,—that I was doing something wrong,—which was the case, since I did it right off without waiting for usual preliminaries, thus wetting myself. But there was always also a feeling at the back of my mind that it was wrong in itself, just as crawling on all fours was wrong, although the delight of children. Children confuse the conventional with the right, just as grown-up persons often do. As I grew older I could not overcome this idea. I remember at the age of fifteen having occasion to do it standing one night in the dark out of doors. I simply couldn't wait any longer, but not seeing anyone about I thought I might venture. I dared not squat down, and felt sure it could not be done standing; I had faint recollections of my childish exploits in that direction, but thought vaguely that children were different. (No one had ever told me of women doing it this way, nor had I ever seen it done.) I wondered how the experiment would act, or if it would act at all! I remembered standing in the gutter and waiting, hoping no one would pass. I was afraid they would guess my purpose, especially as I was obliged to stand with my legs somewhat apart for fear of splashing my clothes. I thought it would never come, and when it did I shall never forget my abashed feelings. I would have stopped it if I could, but when it once began it would not cease. In my alarmed state of imagination it seemed to make an appalling noise which I felt sure could not fail to attract attention if anyone passed. Not only was I fearfully afraid that the rustling sound would attract attention, but from under my clothes there emerged a stream which ran rapidly along the gutter, betraying me! I splashed my stockings in my haste, and tore away just in time as I saw a man coming along, feeling very red and abashed, and wishing that I had found some dark corner where I could have squatted successfully. In

trying to analyze my sensations I think the most prominent lay in the shame that came from standing, and the consequently greater distance the stream had to descend. It seemed to make the affair important and conspicuous, even though clothing hid it. In the ordinary attitude there is a kind of privacy. As a small child, too, the stream had not far to go; but at the age of fifteen I was tall and it seemed to give one a glow of shame to think of this stream falling unchecked such a distance. (I am sure that the ladies who fled in horror from the urinette thought it most indecent for a woman to stride across an earthenware boat on the ground, a leg on each side, and standing there to pull up her clothes and do a stream which descended unabashed all that way.)

"Of course as children all that one knows of that mysterious thing called sex shame, is attached to these functions. After one has grown up this early association of shame still remains inextricably mixed up with real sex feeling and, in my belief, is, more truly, an inseparable part of 'sex feeling.'"

It will be seen that while these early experiences illuminate the later psychic development they represent a different stage of feeling. They correspond to the feelings—in some part natural, in still larger part conventional—which most inexpert normal women experience when they are suddenly compelled to adopt a device of this kind; it gives little or no pleasure, beyond that of the relief to an urgent need, and is put out of mind as quickly as possible with some feeling of shame. But at the age of twenty-one Florrie's adult personality had become constituted, and in her special psycho-sexual constitution this experience took on a special character. The emotions of modesty and shame and reserve, very strongly rooted in Florrie, and her firmly implanted traditions of conventionality and right, excited to the extreme by this audacious act, were transformed into a climax of pleasure and triumph, with a resulting satisfaction far transcending the gratification of a vesical need. The act of urination under such circumstances becomes a simulacrum of the sexual act. It is a kind of vicariously auto-erotic manifestation. At the same time it was to some degree an

untransformed urolagnia. That is to say that there was, accompanying the act, definitely a consciousness of pleasure which she now regards as sexual, adding on one occasion, when spontaneously pointing out the sexual character of the pleasure, the significant remark that "the feeling, however vague, of a sympathetic spectator would cause delight and heighten the sensation." But there was at this stage no conscious sexual emotion. The act of urination was, in the main, a symbol of the sexual act.¹

In connection with this urolagnic character of Florrie's experiences, reference was made to the excitation of the sexual emotions of modesty and shame which was associated with them. As will have been seen, she experiences these emotions strongly, and in a high degree in connection with the act of urination. There is, therefore, in these public episodes all the gratification of a risky adventure with the possibility of "delicious shame" (an expression of Ouida's) should the effort to avoid detection fail. "The nervousness is awful," Florrie writes, "especially when others are in sight and there is the awful dread that they may see or hear. On such occasions, too, the stream always seems of double force." "It is such a strong *personal* feeling that one has over it; someone may have heard or seen, and an awful feeling of shame overtakes one. For some women this is literally the last act they would do in public or before an unsympathetic person. If this feeling of shame were lacking," she significantly adds, "the erotic feeling that is connected with the act would be deadened." An episode from Florrie's experience may be quoted in illustration:

"The most awkward case I remember was on the summit of a mountain. The ascent was made with a party of others, and I could not escape. I tried several times to turn a corner to contemplate a view in solitary enjoyment, but it never came off. Someone always followed. Finally, on the summit, I could hold back no longer, and as all were contemplating the

¹ I have elsewhere in these *Studies* (vol. iii, 2d ed., pp. 59 *et seq.*) pointed out that urination may be regarded as a nervous explosion comparable to the process of sexual detumescence and may to some extent act vicariously for the sexual orgasm.

snow-clad range opposite, across the valley, I started, in fear and trembling, a terrific stream. There were two men quite close, and I was not only afraid they would hear it, but from under my skirts in front and running down the steep path a stream made its way to my horror, for I had thought the earth would absorb it. In desperation I kept pointing out things to see, hoping to engage their attention otherwise, but it was an awful moment, and even now I can hardly believe that the incident escaped observation. I managed to stop before the bladder was really empty, but it was awful when I quitted the spot—the dry rough ground only relieved by this artificial stream! I only breathed freely when well down the path and out of sight of it.

“In towns I generally take refuge on a doorstep or in a doorway where no one is likely to enter. I did this once on an early closing day when the shops were shut, and thought how lucky I was since no one would enter or come out. Although the shop I chose was closed the blinds were up and the goods displayed. So I looked in, but my attention was in reality absorbed in an entirely different manner. It was some time before I could persuade myself to begin, and then I started cautiously, but even so I was alarmed when I saw the stream flowing rapidly down the passage, over the step and on to the pavement. Rain was coming down, but it did not even seem to mingle with the rain on the pavement as I had hoped, but to my probably distorted vision seemed a distinct and obvious stream, a thing apart from all else, which could not fail to betray me, while the sound it made as it descended on the pavement of the passage seemed loud and distinct. Suddenly someone pushed past me and said something. I could not catch the words, but made quite sure that they had an allusion to myself, and I felt I was detected. But no! it was merely an apology for passing to look at something beyond, and before I could decide what to do the intruder had come and gone, and I verily believe that I remained undetected, though when I came to move it was obvious what had happened. In the country there is less risk and more pleasure on the whole; but a certain

amount of audacious joy comes to one in a city, born of the feeling that there are others near; they may know nothing about it, but one has a sort of daring pleasure in wondering and thinking: 'If they only knew what I am doing, how astonished they would be!' But the feeling, however vague, of a sympathetic spectator would cause delight and heighten the sensations." The psychic state thus described might be termed a kind of disguised exhibitionism.

There is a feature of the act of urination, frequently found in the case of women (though rarely in men), which further increases its resemblance to the act of sexual detumescence, and that is its tendency to be uncontrollable when once started. Florrie was well aware of this tendency, though not conscious of any parallelism herein with the sexual orgasm, and attaches great importance to it in heightening the pleasure of her vesical adventures. "I remember," she writes, "standing in a country lane, ostensibly searching for blackberries, and being caught by a passer-by. There was no escape; I was in full swing. I shall never forget my sensations. The stream seemed to be drawn from me without my consent, and *yet with even more pleasure than if I were doing it freely.* [The italics are Florrie's.] This curious feeling—that it is being drawn away by some unseen power which is determined that one shall do it—is an entirely feminine pleasure and a subtle charm. Real control seems gone; one feels it *must* come even though the whole world were present. One would stop if one could—a sudden footstep, a shadow falls, 'Oh, *do* stop!' one says to oneself, 'there's someone coming!' But no, it is not to be. The inexorable force wills otherwise, the stream continues to flow unabashed, and the gentle compulsion is pleasing. It is a curious and fascinating experience which assumes a magnitude that is intensified every second. There are moments when this becomes a positive delight, although one may be overcome with shame that one allowed oneself to begin. It was an effort to start. All the audacity and shame were concentrated in that vital moment (sometimes difficult from sheer nervousness)—that pause as though Nature hesitated before taking the irrevocable step, and

then that feeling. 'Oh, it's coming!' and the breathless start. After that nothing seems to matter. One is no longer responsible and can give oneself up to pure enjoyment. One doesn't want to stop really and one revels in the idea that one cannot, though sometimes shame and fear are so mingled that pure delight cannot exist. But even then there is a fierce charm in the torrent that binds one to its will by a mighty force."

The episodes of this urolagnic type just narrated have not been dated because they have occurred frequently after the first experience, without greatly varying in character, and Florrie soon acquired skill in conducting them ("though I cannot say," she remarks, "that even with open drawers I always managed successfully to escape quite dry"). But the act never became a compulsion nor the thought of it an obsession. It may be suspected that it has sometimes been carried out when not absolutely necessary, for Florrie is not ordinarily affected by any tendency either to polyuria or to vesical irritability, conditions that are both apt to be associated with urolagnia. But if that is so Florrie was not aware of it; she simply regarded these incidents as due to a physical need, occurring in a public place, and when satisfied producing mingled feelings of shame and pleasure. It is only lately that she has realized that the pleasure is of a sexual character.

At the age of twenty-one, when these experiences began, Florrie had reached full physical and mental development and was enjoying excellent health. She was already above the average in size and weight (weighing at this time 140 pounds), robust and active. She was working at her painting and at the same time her mind was opening out in various directions, and she was becoming eagerly interested in social and literary questions.

She still had no conscious sexual preoccupations, and was completely innocent of sexual knowledge and sexual experiences. At the age of twenty-two she was for a short time slightly troubled by what she thinks may have been ovarian neuralgia. A friend, who was anxious to help on a young doctor, induced her to go to him to be "examined." She had

not the slightest idea what this meant, but lay on a sofa and felt something hurting her. She was horrified to learn afterwards from her friend that the doctor had inserted his finger and she wondered how this could be possible without a preliminary incision. The friend assured her that it was good to be examined as "it made it easier when one married." This cryptic saying filled Florrie with wonder, but she was too shy to ask what it meant. She was told she had slight congestion of the womb. It quickly disappeared and she has never had any other sexual trouble of a physical character.

About this time, when staying with friends, there was a man of about thirty-five, also visiting at the same house, who showed a liking for her. He used to take her on his knee and kiss her. This gave her no more pleasure than if done by a woman and aroused no sexual feeling. But during the same visit a notable incident occurred. A little girl of six, who was very fond of Florrie, proved troublesome, and her mother resolved to birch her. Florrie, to her own surprise, made no protest or attempt to save the child. "She was, I could see," Florrie remarks, "profoundly affected at being punished before me, and remembering my own childhood I ought to have saved her. Instead of that, I felt positive enjoyment when she was hoisted on to the table, her clothes turned over her head, and the birch well applied. She kicked and screamed, but I felt rooted to the spot. I couldn't interfere. It had for me a strange fascination." The significance of this incident will be revealed by the subsequent history.

For the most part Florrie was so absorbed in study, in art, in the widening of her intellectual horizon, that she gave no thought to love. There was, indeed, an affection of an exclusively sentimental character, and lasting for two years, for a professor whose lectures she attended. He wrote touching letters and one day kissed her. She was pleased at this mark of affection and believes that if he had then proposed an elopement she would have agreed. But her senses were quite untouched. Even when one day in a cab he opened her blouse, took out her breast and sucked the nipple, she believes she felt

no sexual pleasure. She declined an invitation to come to his bedroom in her dressing gown and nightdress when in the same house with him, as she was sleeping with her sister, and she also had a vague idea that such a visit might lead to pregnancy. But she had no keen disappointment at missing what the professor described as "a lover's embrace." She eventually found out that this man was married. The whole episode left no deep impression. We now, however, approach a highly important epoch in Florrie's life.

Even from the age of sixteen, when she became a keen suffragette, Florrie had believed in the equality of men and women. In theory she regarded it as a worthy ambition for a woman to imitate men and to seek to eliminate all that is feminine. With this she had a horror of man's dominancy and a hatred of his "cruelty" to woman in the past. And nothing filled her with such seething wrath as the knowledge that in the past, and sometimes even in the present, men beat their wives. She could not even speak of this subject, her emotions were too strong. As to the word "obey" in the marriage service, she regarded it as an insult to the whole sex, though in spite of this purely mental defiance, her disposition, as she admits, is really much more to obey than to command.

At the age of twenty-five Florrie wrote an article which was published in a leading Review, dealing with the ethics of force; in a well-reasoned and comprehensive way she marshaled and criticized the arguments in favor of the rule of force, and argued against militarism, and against all exaltation of merely physical strength, as opposed to progress as well as to the instincts and interests of women, who have passed the stage when brute force appeals to them. Her views, as she herself expresses it, were an external crust plastered over her real self. We now approach a new stage in Florrie's development. From the period of adolescence she had lived on the surface of consciousness, responsive to the normal influences of her environment, and reacting to this on the whole normally. But they had not touched her deep, personal impulses repressed beneath the surface of consciousness. Now these concealed

and arrested impulses began to stir, to surge towards the surface, and to seek such devious paths of expression as they could find.

At the age of twenty-eight, still cherishing her abstract hatred of man, she chanced to read an article by a man on "Why Man rules Woman." Here all the old-fashioned conventional arguments on the natural duty of a man to master a woman were crudely set forth: "In the good old days a man proved his superiority over a woman in no uncertain fashion. If she betrayed any symptoms of rebellion he simply took a lash and instilled into her a more satisfactory train of thought; she accepted the lesson meekly and loved him all the more. The good honest laborer who bestowed upon his wife a sound thrashing is rarely extolled by his fellowmen as a redeemer of the rights and privileges of mankind. It is a sad fact, but nevertheless a true one, that the more a man beats a woman the more she admires him." Florrie read and writhed. Others had also read; there was a storm of protest and feminine rage. Much of this was so silly and illiterate in expression that a new and unexpected impulse arose in Florrie. Merely to annoy the feminine protesters, for the sake of argument (so it seemed to her), she entered the ranks of the letter-writers against the women who refused to let men rule, upholding instead the original writer who advocated chastisement. Under different pseudonyms in several letters, she used her literary ability to argue from history and experience that it is well for a just and educated man to possess the power to chastise a perverse wife, and that, far from resenting it, she loves and respects him as never before; done moderately and in love it was not only harmless, but was beneficial, calculated to restore peace when everything else had failed. Then other women, following her example, also wrote on somewhat similar lines. It seemed to Florrie when she wrote these letters that she was playing a superficial intellectual game. But when we bear in mind her earlier history we shall realize, as she later realized, that she was obeying a deep instinct, which came into consciousness in

the only way in which at this stage it could come and be accepted.

That there was really a deep impulse here at work is shown by the accompanying revival of day-dreaming which for more than twelve years past had ceased to occupy her. The day-dreams were now of more adult character, but exclusively devoted to whipping. They now chiefly depicted wives whipped by their husbands. Instead of disgust and horror at man's tyranny over woman, Florrie found herself beginning to like the idea, to feel that it would be pleasant to be in subjection to a wise and good man who would thus correct her. The humiliation naturally had a charm, and wife-beating no longer seemed so dreadful a thing, nor men such monsters.

Without in the least suspecting that they had any sexual origin, Florrie now invented stories with whipping as the climax, stories of disobedient and ill-tempered wives who were thoroughly thrashed and so reformed. The husband, it will be seen, had taken the place of the mother or school-mistress of the young girl's day-dreams. "In imagination I saw an ill-tempered wife just stepping into a cab to run away when up comes the furious husband, dismisses the cab, quickly escorts her upstairs to the bedroom, and locks the door. Then he opens a drawer, takes out a short, flexible riding whip, and in spite of her cries and entreaties, forces her face downward on to the bed, pulls up her skirts, strips off her drawers, and then whip! whip! on the bare buttocks, flanks, and calves, until she kicks and screams with pain, imploring him to desist. But he only leaves off when she has been well punished. She then sobs and is penitent. Sometimes I made him tie her wrists and ankles. The whipping was not too severe. But the thought that this was frightfully indecent gave me a wicked thrill; and finally that he could make me endure physical pain, even this was attractive." This first adult outbreak of interest in whipping and flagellatory day-dreaming was severe while it lasted, and she could think of nothing else, day or night. But in two months the day-dreams faded away, and the series of flagellational letters, the writing of which gave her the same relief

as day-dreams, was brought to an end. During this period, it is interesting to note, she was moved to take photographs of her own nates, not, it seemed to her, out of admiration of her body, but to enable her to realize the imagined scenes. But though there was no conscious sexual influence, Florrie's views of the relationship of men and women and her general social ideas were modified.

A year or so later Florrie became engaged. There seems to have been no question of deep affection on her part. She had no thoughts of a sexual nature, and she never day-dreamed of her *fiancé* whipping her. She simply wished to marry in order to avoid being an old maid. This engagement was broken off. But at length, at the age of thirty, she married a physician, about twice her own age, of high character and amiable disposition, much esteemed in the city in which he practises. There was no question of passion on either side, but he has always treated her with great kindness, and she cherishes much regard and affection for him.

There have been no marital relationships. By the time she married Florrie had begun to realize for the first time, as a result of accumulated hints and mysterious remarks from various sources, that there is a physical act in marriage. Concerning its exact nature she was still ignorant. Some people hinted that it was very pleasurable; others described it as "horrid," and one said that "it makes you feel lower than the beasts of the fields." In view of this conflicting evidence Florrie consulted a girl friend who was astonished and incredulous at her ignorance, and replied: "Everyone knows; Nature teaches them." But Florrie felt that Nature had not taught her.

"I guessed" she writes, "it was something painful since I had read in Restoration Plays of the bride's screams the first night, which everyone expected to hear, and that the next day her brothers and others taunted her with not being able to walk properly, and made her show off for their amusement. (I thought this very horrid and was glad those days were past.) Then I had heard of brides fainting, and altogether I couldn't make out where the pleasure came in, since it seemed full of

woe for the bride. I wondered why any girl wanted to be married, and came to the conclusion that they put up with the conjugal act as one puts up with having a tooth extracted. I even once propounded to a girl friend the theory that it would be nice if one could live with one's husband as a brother. She seemed astonished, and said: 'But it wouldn't be marriage!' The truth was that my sex instincts were dormant, and though I was capable of sentimental affection towards men I did not think of them as sexual beings. So when I married I made up my mind with a kind of heroism to endure whatever happened. I dreaded it, yet I was prepared for it. It never once occurred to me that a bride ought to have some anticipation of pleasure. I had, too, been brought up to think any advances on the part of a woman meant immodesty and indecency. I had always regarded a bride as a passive instrument for the use of the man—something he enjoyed like a mince-pie or a glass of champagne. I was unaware that *she* enjoyed any pleasure, beyond that she was giving to the man. I had a vague idea that *she* was supposed to be dying to have a baby and he could supply it. But the desire for the baby did not possess me. I consoled myself by thinking that greater warmth might follow my initiation into the mysteries. I wondered if others were like me. A lady had told me that her mother had said to her as a bride: 'Good bye, and remember that whatever you have to go through your mother had to go through the same.' That was all she had to tell about it."

On the wedding night her bridegroom dallied with her a little, complained much of the springy nature of the bed, and finally turned over and went to sleep, not waking till morning. Florrie felt relieved and slept also. Days and nights passed, and her husband made no further allusion to this subject. Florrie followed his example, considering that it was not for her to make advances. Yet she thought it rather strange. There had been no violent love on either side at the outset. As time went on, and they grew fonder of each other (they have continued throughout to be much attached) the husband made an attempt at coitus. It failed. She lay quite still, as he

told her, but when the attempt was unsuccessful he blamed her and said it was due to her coldness. She was grieved, but felt there was nothing she could do in the matter. All further attempts were unsuccessful, although erection and ejaculation occurred, and the husband recognized that it was hopeless. He fondles her lovingly, and he appreciates the way in which she accepts the situation without making allusion to it.

In a photograph taken shortly before marriage Florrie appears at the age of thirty as a bright, attractive, fully developed woman. She is plump, but though the hips are pronounced there is no superfluous fat. During the four succeeding years she continued on the whole to pursue the same work and interests which had occupied her before marriage; gradually, however, her mental life began to be overcome by an increasing lassitude, and she found herself losing interest in her old pursuits. She no longer had the same impulse to work or to paint. She attributed this in part to the fact that she was no longer living in the bracing climate she had always been used to, but in a relaxing atmosphere. There may have been an element of truth in this. But it is probable that a more fundamental cause lay in the subconscious sphere. In any case, six years after the first attack of what Florrie terms the "whipping craze," there came a relapse, this time in a much more intense, serious, and prolonged form.

She first noticed that she would wake up in the morning feeling perturbed and irritable, although quite calm when she went to bed. She is habitually good-tempered, but on these occasions she would get up feeling an imperative need to quarrel with someone and a wild explosion of anger would burst forth, the victim usually being a servant. These outbursts distressed her greatly; she could not understand them, although later she vaguely divined their sexual significance. To us they may be intelligible if we know that anger is sometimes a transmuted form of latent sexual energy, and an explosion of anger a kind of vicarious detumescence.¹

¹ I have discussed this point in *Studies*, vol. iii, 2d ed., pp. 172 *et seq.*

Suddenly these fits of temper were entirely replaced by day-dreams of whipping. Yet, even on the surface, there remained a connection. Whipping in the day-dreams was regarded as a punishment for bad temper, a kind of restraining force. It even had a calming effect. Referring to a later stage than we have yet reached Florrie writes: "I do so long for someone to whip me when I feel in a bad temper!" She mentions also that once, when she felt on the verge of an outburst of anger, she whipped herself rather than victimize anyone else, and so obtained relief. "Whipping," she remarks, "acted like a soothing bottle to a fretful child." When the day-dreams were temporarily suspended she would often be irritable and cross, although she felt she ought to overcome this feeling. It is clear, however, that all through this phase Florrie was not consciously aware that it was relief she was seeking. When the idea was at last suggested to her she recognized its truth, but it seemed new.

The day-dreams were in substance identical with those of the earlier period before marriage. But they were now more varied, more intense, more vividly realized, more absorbing. "Sometimes," Florrie writes, "I have pictured myself as having eloped with a groom and derived much enjoyment from a day-dream in which this coarse cruel man ill-treated me. I picture myself sick of him, loathing him and his coarse surroundings. Then I picture his growing exasperation, his intolerance of 'fine lady' airs and graces, his complaints, and at last his threats to whip me. My fury and indignation know no bounds. The thought of this at *his* hands is intolerable, but yet in my day-dreams it gives me a horribly fascinating, pleasurable, creepy feeling to be roughly handled by this odious man. I know that in reality it would be intolerable, for, as a matter of fact, I hate and loathe common men and feel as if I should scream if they were to touch me with their coarse hands. But in this awful day-dream I have a fiendish delight in the triumph of the man's sheer physical force, in being held down forcibly while he applied the whip unsparingly to my bare flesh. The feeling that

I couldn't get away, that I was really hating and loathing the enforced whipping, heightened the sensation."

Florrie had chanced to come across a little low class weekly paper which was full of letters from correspondents about whipping. It would seem, indeed, that this chance had had something to do with arousing her renewed and excited interest in the subject. It also led her, as in the earlier period of flagellational obsession, to write to the papers on the subject. This time, however, she wrote to papers of high standing, and in a more daring manner, while her literary skill ensured the publication of her letters. She found that this occupation momentarily eased the obsession although it was all the time steadily increasing in intensity. Dozens of letters were written in this way, and published in more or less prominent quarters. She who had been so convinced an opponent of force in human affairs, and so vigorous an advocate of women's rights, became the opponent of the suffrage and argued that women should be the slaves of men.

She would, for instance, join in discussions on the Marriage Service of the Anglican Church and write as follows, over the signature "A Contented Wife," in a leading religious newspaper: "We have daily proof that loving submission is by no means regarded as slavery by the average woman. Husbands (in England at least) are not tyrants, and we feel this slight put upon them by the suggestion that the word 'obey' is disagreeable to us. We have the instinct of obedience, and in all things lawful are glad to exercise it. As a married woman I, in company with others, protest against this absurd objection to the word 'obey.' Husbands, in my opinion, would do well to assert themselves more than they do, and a little more discipline in the home might check the modern tendency to gambling." In other letters she plainly advocates "mild chastisement" by the husband as "women respect physical punishment much more than anything else." Of course these letters called out a flood of other letters from indignant feminine correspondents. That was the time of the Suffragette agitation and Florrie entered with spirit into the discussion as an enthusiastic advocate

of the physical chastisement of suffragettes committing outrages. "Our chief virtues," she wrote, "are the outcome of the discipline we received in the past, and now that it is removed women are beginning to revolt." In this connection Florrie had a fright. She sent to an important newspaper, in all seriousness, a day-dream of a suffragette who, caught in the act of committing an outrage on property by other women, was spanked until she promised never to do the like again. The letter attracted attention and was copied into other papers; lawyers and professors wrote to defend the cause of the suffragette; it was proposed to get up a subscription for the "victim"; the Police tried to trace the affair. Finally the public concluded that it had been hoaxed. "Really," as Florrie writes, "nothing was further from my thoughts than a hoax or a joke. My only aim was to give myself a nice (as I now recognize) sexy feeling. Thus may one be carried away by the terrific impetus which literally makes one do things against one's will. At the time I wrote it I thought I meant it all, but I couldn't trace its source. I had a vague idea it wasn't my real self to write such a lot of insane nonsense—diametrically opposed to all I had written and advocated in my earlier days when my brain was at its best. But it gave me immense satisfaction."

Florrie was extremely ashamed of these letters and could not bear the thought of anyone knowing she wrote them. The impulse to write them entirely ceased immediately after she came under my observation and found a more wholesome channel of self-expression.

Florrie's excitement in her obsession was now wound up to such a pitch that she felt she must give actual realization to the pictured sensation of her day-dreams. This was a definitely new stage in her development. Hitherto the day-dream had been an end in itself. We may remark, indeed, that Florrie had already for more than ten years past shown an aptitude, even demanding courage, to put imagined scenes into action. It is true that her vesical exploits had seemed to her to be only due to the call of an imperative physiological need. But the desire to feel the actual sting of the whip now seemed an equally

imperative need. She had reached a point where she could think of nothing else but whipping and had continually to lie, whether in bed or on a sofa or on the floor, face downwards, imagining that she was being whipped. The primary object was to secure relief by attaining the practical physical culmination of these imaginings. She tried in succession a hair-brush, a slipper, a strap, a razor strop, a small stick, a birch. These were not altogether satisfactory. At last she found an implement, apparently a lady's small riding whip, which was exactly right. It was of Russian leather with silver mounts, thirty-six inches long, whalebone covered with gut, and a knotted tip. This gave more pain than anything else, at first almost more pain than she could bear, though it never drew blood. She would apply it after breakfast, first removing her drawers. This whip—though the first time she applied it she thought she must be mad to do so absurd a thing which she had never heard of anyone else doing—became her fetich and the very sight of it soon gave her a pleasurable sensation. (When she read that it was the custom in Russia for a bride to have a silver mounted whip in her trousseau she thought that the best part of the ceremony.) Now this whip corresponded exactly to the whip with which her father whipped her as a child. Yet, strange as it may seem to those who are unacquainted with psychic analysis, it was not until a later period, when she began to study her own history, that Florrie realized that the whip she had once dreaded, which for many early years had fastened itself on her mind as an object of sacred terror, had now re-appeared unrecognized to become a beloved fetich. It may appear yet stranger that even when at length she had recognized in her fetich the whip of her childhood she still failed to see, until the idea was clearly brought before her, any emotional connection between the experiences of her childhood and these experiences of adult age.

The whipping was a satisfaction to her, but it brought no climax of relief. She would sometimes whip until she was exhausted, but still without any relief. She had, however, no clear idea as to what kind of result was to be expected. As she afterwards realized, she was trying, without knowing it,

to produce orgasm. But she was supremely ignorant. The prevalent idea in her mind was that there would be some satisfaction if blood came. (We see here the germ of sadism, of algolagnia, which is often equally innocent.) Her thoughts were entirely astray from the sexual sphere, and she was further deceived by a craving to be whipped also on remote parts of the body, arms and legs, palms of the hands, anywhere in fact except on the breasts and abdomen.

But though no orgasm was consciously desired, and none took place, the intensity with which Florrie realized these day-dreams, and the emotional excitement which accompanied these whippings, are evidenced by the fact that she now for the first time discovered that as a result of day-dreaming and whipping the vulva was bathed with mucus. She had not noticed this in the earlier phase of day-dreaming before marriage, and she now began to realize, for the first time, that day-dreaming must be connected with sex. This was a revelation, but it had no influence, in one direction or the other, on the course of the phase she was passing through. It seems to have led her to place the hand to the vulva while applying the whip and about this time she learnt for the first time of masturbation through reading Dr. Nichols's *Esoteric Anthropology* (at one period almost the only popularly written manual of sex which reached respectable women); it was the first book on sex she had seen, and she here learnt for the first time that mucous discharge accompanied sexual excitement, and first heard of the clitoris. But her manipulations seem to have been slight, only faintly pleasurable, and in any case orgasm was not thereby induced.

With these accessory developments the day-dream grew still more potent and was still more assiduously cultivated. It brought a certain amount of soothing and relief, it enabled her to overcome her fits of irritable temper, but the obsession continued to be interminable, because she never reached a point of adequate satisfaction, even with the aid of the actual whip. The day-dream assumed various forms. Sometimes Florrie would imagine that she had just returned from the theater in low dress, and was getting up a quarrel with the Man, a rather

indistinct person, never anyone in particular, but a vague husband, and always very anxious to assert his authority. The quarrel would not arise from any love of quarreling, but wholly because she wishes to provoke him to strike her. Finally, white with rage at her exasperating conduct, he jumps up, pushing back his chair, and seizing one bare arm violently slaps the other. When he has finished with that arm he starts on the other arm, and then on her back until her skin is red all over, and at this point she experiences a "sexy" feeling. She imagines the Man's attitude towards her to be that one would have to a small child whom one slapped, corrected, or petted with a safe sense of proprietorship. It would give her a delicious feeling to think that he claimed her as his own, to do what he would with, to say what he liked to. The sense of being thus possessed, the fact that the Man *dared* to whip her, was a supreme attraction. This was intensified if the day-dream proceeded, and he dragged her upstairs, sobbing and protesting, kicking and biting, until, landed in the bedroom, he locked the door. Anger and terror were now mingled with strange delight in a relationship so intimate and so daring. The whipping, although severe, and with a tendency to grow severer, was never felt as ever bordering on cruelty, although sometimes the pain was almost past endurance. When it was over Florrie felt reduced to a state of sobs and penitence, with a greater love and respect than before for the Hero who then ordered her about, and made her do things she disliked. Florrie's phantasy, it will be seen, was taking on a masochistic tone. In all these day-dreams the hero was the master and she the slave; he was on the throne and she grovelled at his feet. "If," she writes, "you add to this picture a whip instead of a sceptre in the hand of the King, you get a fair idea of my erotic conception of the relation of the sexes." She could never understand a man wishing to be whipped by a woman; "it seems unnatural and horrid."

A day-dream of an Eastern harem would much excite her sexually. Its luxury or magnificence made no impression on her. The idea that fascinated her was that the women are in bondage, slaves to one man—who is free—and that idea was

overpowering. At this time Florrie liked reading the narratives of Europeans' visits to harems, and was impressed by their general failure, as it seemed to her, to comprehend the Oriental standpoint.

It must be understood that Florrie had no desire to be treated with *cruelty*, and in her day-dreams the hero was never inspired by cruel motives. Any callousness on his part would not be tolerated. He is always really fond of her, and if he seems to be cruel he means it for her good. This was the case in all Florrie's whipping dreams. They were not a form of cruelty (she hates all forms of cruelty and has very strong feelings about cruelty to animals) any more than they were, consciously, a form of voluptuous enjoyment. They were always associated with the idea of punishment. The day-dreams thus remained intimately connected, little as she herself was aware of the fact, with that core of infantile experience in the early whippings inflicted by her father.

The hero certainly lacked respect, and that, indeed, was a word which in her more sexual moments Florrie hated. At such moments she felt—shocking as the admission seemed to her—that to be treated without respect would be a delicious sensation, even in its savagery. There were limitations, indeed. She could not, for instance, imagine herself enjoying the lack of respect of a vulgar common man who kicked her or gave her a black eye. But she would sometimes in day-dreams imagine a sort of satyr man, wild and uncouth and uncivilized, who possessed a greater fascination than the typical knight. "One sees these queer satyrs," she writes, "in early Renaissance paintings, and they pursue nymphs, and people say, 'How horrible!' But they somehow typify the primitive forces of Nature, crude physical force with a touch of cruelty. Hideous and barbaric, they yet represent something that is lacking in life. I am quite sure that the nymphs liked the fauns, and it gave them a lovely sexy feeling when a satyr dragged off an unwilling nymph. But it is only in day-dreams that the satyr-man exists. In real life this embodiment of physical strength without brains is by no means fragrant of woods and streams;

more probably he reeks of onions, beer, and perspiration." Usually, however, the attitude of the Man to the woman in Florrie's day-dream has been that of the father to his child. She wanted to be treated like a naughty child. Even when in earlier years she used to write in favor of women's rights and against man in the abstract, she was always conscious of that apparently contradictory feeling. She could not then account for it, and its presence rather annoyed her.

When Florrie adopted the use of the whip as an aid to her day-dreams she attained a much higher degree of satisfaction than had before been possible. She was able to realize her day-dreams in imagination to a much greater extent. But the satisfaction was far from complete. The process was by no means the actualization of her day-dreams, for auto-flagellation had played no part in them. These dreams were normal to the extent that an attractive hero always played the essential part. Thus her method of satisfaction still left her craving for a congenial man to apply the punishment. It was natural that her thoughts should turn to her husband. He knew nothing whatever of her constant obsession and she never at any stage confided to him her ideas and feelings on this subject. But she made a few mild attempts to induce him to play a part in some degree corresponding to the hero of her dreams. These attempts were a complete failure. He felt too much love and respect to be able to bear the idea of hurting her, however slightly, even in play, nothing beyond a gentle pat, and treated a matter, which, had he known it, was absorbing all her vital energy, merely as a joke. She found, moreover, that the touch of his hand, in sexual manipulation, failed to produce any erotic excitation whatever. Her thoughts then turned in another direction. It so happened that in the course of her incursion into newspaper and letter-writing on the subject of flagellation she had come in touch by correspondence with a man, of lower social class than herself, who was without doubt the victim of a mania for active flagellation. Their interests were so congenial that they had carried on a considerable correspondence on the subject. This man, whom we will call N.,

had written verses on whipping which he sent to Florrie for her opinion. In one of his letters he stated that it gave him an erection to read about whipping and he desired to know if his letters on the subject made her wish to "tickle" herself. At first Florrie could not make out what he meant, but at last it dawned on her; then at length she definitely realized that N.'s desire to whip, and her own desire to be whipped, were both sexual. This correspondence doubtless still further stimulated her obsession. In any case, it continued to increase. When tired of whipping herself every morning (after breakfast) she would lie on the bed face down and think about whipping and long for a man to whip her. Sometimes she would throw herself on the floor or on the sofa, always face down, with this craving, while the vulva became more and more bathed with moisture. She would try to bestir herself actively in other interests, but was powerless. She would begin writing articles on art and other subjects, as of old, but the imagery of her dreams would come before her, her thoughts wandered, she could not fix her attention, and had to lie down on her face and indulge her dream. Her husband had gone out for the day; she was left to her own devices, and she could not escape from her obsession. Then she would write to N. and he would respond, describing whippings that were largely imaginary, but which gave her what she described as a "ghastly pleasure." She grew to dislike society, though when staying away from home with friends the obsession was relieved; but even then it would return at night, and if there was a library she would find herself hunting for any book that might touch on the subject that fascinated her. She could read Boccaccio unmoved, but when she reached the Ninth Day with the story of Giosèfo beating his wife she would become excited, and the vulva grow moist. She could not see the "Taming of the Shrew" without longing for Petruchio to beat Kate. Shops where whips were sold and exhibited in the windows offered more attractions than any jewellers' or milliners'; she would stand before them gloating over the display and experiencing what she came in time to recognize was sexual feeling; once she walked two

miles merely to see such a shop. This condition she had fallen into caused her much alarm. She would sometimes say to herself: "You are awfully mad; I am sure you will end your days in an asylum." Then she would regret the passing of the time when asylum patients were flogged and yearn for those past ages when men chastized women without scruple. But there were such men even today as she began to realize (although her husband regarded the matter as a joke), and N. was dying to do it.

Finally Florrie agreed to meet N. The meeting was arranged to take place in a strange city, midway between their respective homes, where N. took a room in a hotel, ostensibly for the night. Florrie found him a powerful and fairly attractive man, intelligent and genial, though not refined or well-bred, with nothing about him to suggest cruelty, and much of her own age. He had no personal attraction for her, though she considered him "a fascinating barbarian," and she felt no impulse of trust in him; it was solely the common and complementary obsession of flagellation which brought them together. When they entered the room and he locked the door, she began to feel alarm and put her hand on the lock, but he dragged her away saying he was not going to stand any nonsense, and as she had not come there to be "respected" she made up her mind for the worst. N. was much excited from the first, tremulous and perspiring. He wished to tie her down but to this she objected, and he placed her on the bed face downwards, pulled up her clothes, unfastened her drawers, and pulling her thighs apart, carefully examined her and began to tickle the vulva. She did not relish being handled by the man's coarse hands and remonstrated that this was not in the bargain, but he made a coarse reply and proceeded to fondle and rub her nates. There was no question of coitus. At last he took a birch which he applied unsparingly, touching up the tender spots inside the thighs. Then he used a thin small riding whip (like her own fetich) which made her smart horribly, and it seemed to delight him to see her writhing. He would pause between each stroke to watch her terror at the expectation of

the next, though she never dared to utter a cry, rather to N.'s disappointment, for he would have liked her to resist and scream. She merely laughed nervously all the time, though the pain was acute. He also took her between his legs, bending her over his left knee in a grip of iron, and using the birch with all his might. No blood came, which also disappointed N., who explained that he took special delight in the sight of flowing blood. Florrie was, however, covered with black bruises, and the marks of the whip showed for a fortnight after. "I wanted it, I craved it, and I got it!" And she added: "It was a terrific relief too. I enjoyed it thoroughly." The relief was so great that for months afterwards she was able to refrain from whipping herself altogether, and the obsession was never again so overmasteringly powerful, although there were still times when it was continuous. She felt "horribly ashamed" at this episode. She was a well-bred and cultured woman, one, moreover, who had sought to raise the status of her sex, and, as she herself truly said, she was "proper and sedate, so shy and stiff with men they would never dream of taking a liberty," and she could not fail to feel ashamed at the recollection of that "awful ceremony." "I really felt that I was mad to countenance such an indecent proceeding, but I was goaded on by a desire of such intensity that it overcame all other feelings." Yet it was significant that there was a fascination even in the humiliation. "If," writes Florrie, "a woman has the real whipping obsession she gradually comes to delight in the thought of her own degradation and physical suffering. It is hard to analyze, it includes so much. To begin with, when the man locks the door and approaches her with the whip she feels no delight, but cowers, perhaps trembles, and looks at him imploringly like a cowed dog about to be whipped. She shudders at first and half regrets her longings. This of course adds zest to the man's feelings. Then the exposure which follows, dreaded, liked, and yet repulsive to a sensitive woman strictly brought up. The shame, confusion and mental agitation are almost worse than the physical pain. Then he holds her down and the pain begins. Most women can endure a fair amount

without flinching—I can—but it seems that the man feels no satisfaction as long as the whip produces no emotional disturbance, even though the skin be covered with weals. It was only the last six cuts that were becoming more than I could bear, stinging cuts on the parts which were sore from being already lashed. I called out in vain protest. Strange, but true, one's keenest enjoyment (if so one may call it) is when the strokes are given in defiance of one's wishes and have passed the limit of endurance! The man, too, feels his keenest thrill in those cruel strokes, not heeding cries, but taking extra pains to give a cut on the thigh where it is most tender. He *begins* by hesitating—he *couldn't* hurt one, he is timid. But the more he whips the more he wants to go on; weals don't satisfy, he wants blood. He knows it causes pain, but he must go on. When it was over, my man said he would like to tie me up and use the 'cat'! He was quite exhausted with his exertions, though he took his coat off before he began. So you see the gradual development from mild day-dreams to this final exultation in man's physical power over woman."

It was at this stage, less than twelve months after the episode with N., that I first came in contact with Florrie. Then and for some months later she was in much the same condition resulting from that incident. She was, that is to say, relieved from the most acute form of her obsession, yet always haunted by it, always restless and craving for gratification, yet always discontented with her craving, dissatisfied with herself and with what she felt to be the decline from her old self. She was not hopeful of improvement, though believing that under some conditions a cure might be possible, and it was not with *that* object she had written to me, but rather with the *idea*, after reading my study of "Love and Pain," that I might be interested to know of her case.

"As the outside world sees me," she wrote at this time, "I am just an ordinary normal woman, fond of my people and my husband, and leading a good moral, if somewhat quiet, life. If I have had to yield to circumstances in the planning of my life, no one knows it—or cares. The fact that I have wasted

my time most awfully, and deteriorated lately, is not evident to them. Of course I feel disgusted with myself sometimes. Now I am trying to free myself from my errors! I still think, and know, that to love any man is for me to be his slave. It would give me sexual delight, thrills of pleasure, to be ordered about and punished. Equality would have no sexual charm whatever. To be treated like a child, to feel that the loved one possesses even one's body, to beat at his will, to feel his superior strength gripping one—it is all delicious. Of course there might be disadvantages, and one might weary of it, but, oh! what a woman suffers when she cannot indulge her particular sexual perversity! My brain has become powerless and my physical health lessened. I wish I could cure myself. Perhaps it will pass. I earnestly hope so, for it embitters my existence. My friends are of the intellectual variety, and I have never mentioned the subject to anyone but N., and I knew of his tendencies beforehand."

From this period on, although progress was slow, Florrie never again spoke so pessimistically about herself. It was an immense and immediate relief to be able to face her condition, to talk about it, and to know that her case was not unique nor her fate hopeless. "I have felt better," she soon after wrote, "since I know others have suffered in the same way, and don't feel quite such a lunatic as when I thought I was the only one in the world." "It is because no one seems to trouble about these things," she wrote again, "that they bulk so largely in life, affecting the health, and the temperament generally. The more one bottles it up the more explosive it becomes." A considerable degree of relief was thus attained, and the tension, though not removed, was lessened. She sought to distract her attention from the craving for actual flagellation by directing it into other though mostly related channels. A period of experimentation followed. She succeeded to some extent in diffusing her impulses, and in the diffusion gradually, naturally, spontaneously, she brought them nearer to normal courses. The obsession came back in force at intervals, especially at the menstrual periods, and then she just had to roll on the floor and

shiver with longing. She found some relief in simple day-dreams in bed, not usually followed by self-flagellation, in which she would lie face downward and imagine scenes of women seized by force and held down while men and boys performed coitus, afterwards whipping well. This introduction of the idea of normal coitus was new and spontaneous, and these day-dreams produced local sexual excitement, but not orgasm which, so far, she had never experienced. There was, as these day-dreams show, some shifting of ideals towards the normal center, with the beginnings even of pleasurable sensations in that center brought out by manual touch, not strictly masturbation, which somewhat earlier she had once or twice attempted, both roughly and gently, without the slightest result. At the same time the sight of the whip fetich lost something of its attraction.

At this point a notable stage was reached in Florrie's sexual evolution. Hitherto she had never experienced the orgasm. Imperfect connection with her husband, erotic reverie, actual flagellation, attempts at masturbation, none of these ever led up to actual orgasm, although there had often been a high degree of sexual erethism with much mucous discharge. She had come to the conclusion that she was one of the women she had heard of who never experience the orgasm. At this period, however, early one morning, just after the end of the menstrual period, experiencing vague sexual feelings, her thoughts recurred to the whip which she had not used for a long time. She tried one or two strokes; it cut her painfully and she felt nothing but the pain. So she lay down on her face and thought over things. *Why* had whipping such attraction. And why should that particular part of the body so enjoy being hit? She pondered, and gradually it came to her ("things are always so slow," she remarked, "such ages in dawning when they have to do with sex, so far as I am concerned") that if she was so sensitive to these blows on the outside perhaps, even without whipping, she might feel some sensation by penetrating further inside, though any approach towards the rectum, which she felt sure had nothing to do with her sensations, had no

attraction. She placed her hand, however, between the nates touching the anus and extending to the vagina, moving about a little, and tried to imagine it was a man's hand. "All at once my thighs and legs began to twitch and move in an involuntary manner, my heart began to beat more quickly, and waves of warmth seemed to pass up my body to my head. The vulva seemed to distend terrifically, and become springy, so that my bottom was sent up and down as if I were on springs. Then followed curious sucking-up sensations at intervals, contractions that seemed to want to draw in something. I had by now removed my hand, but the feeling went on just the same. At last (after a few seconds, I suppose, really) it was all over, leaving wetness, and I was rather frightened, like a child that has accidentally set off an alarm." But she repeated the experience three times in succession, with nearly the same result each time, and then got up, very white, and rather shaky. She realized that, for the first time in her life, in a totally unexpected way, a way that seemed to her rather horrid so that she was never tempted to repeat it, she had experienced the orgasm.

This manifestation of the orgasm is a fact of great significance. We see that Florrie's gluteal obsession had a genuine physical basis, being associated with a corresponding sexual orientation, natural or acquired, and probably both, in the direction of the anus. We realize how deeply implanted in the organism are these complexes which, to the superficial observer, often seem to be entirely psychic, mere vagaries, arbitrary and capricious, the result of accidental external circumstances.

At the same time it must be realized that this manifestation of the orgasm, although occurring under abnormal conditions, yet marked a real stage in the progress towards normality. On previous occasions she had frequently whipped herself until exhausted, yet never produced orgasm. But after this incident, on one occasion, when the flagellatory obsession was abating, and she had not whipped herself for some months, there was a temporary recurrence of the old longing and she applied the riding whip one morning. For the first time in her experience this application produced definite sexual feelings followed by

orgasm, though not of the intensity reached in the experience just described. It must be added that, although Florrie had never experienced the orgasm in connection with the anus or any other region before the occasion described, she had at somewhat earlier date experienced a slightly sexual feeling on the insertion of an enema nozzle, and had afterwards tried this as an experiment, thus producing a distinctly sexual sensation by pushing it in and out, a more distinctly sexual sensation, she remarked, than that produced by the insertion of a vaginal syringe. Another incident may be mentioned, in connection with an increasing sexual sensibility of the vulva region, to indicate Florrie's slow approach towards the normal state. Sometimes, especially in the morning, as the obsession of whipping became rarer, she would now feel an intense longing to rub herself against something. This troubled her, though she recognized that it was a substitute for the desire to whip herself, but as it persisted she tried to relieve it, at first by riding astride a bedstead, a pillow, or other object. Then by much thinking she spontaneously devised the idea of a round india rubber ball to secure the desired end; she obtained one, rather larger than an egg but round and stuffed it into the vulva, finding that it produced contractions at once, with much wetness, and a very soothing effect. "I felt pacified, like a baby that is given a teat to suck. It stuck in of itself, and when I walked upstairs produced lovely soothing sensation, but I only allowed it to remain about ten minutes, as it caused so much wetness, and I had my doubts as to whether I was doing a very nice or proper thing. I am not in the habit of doing such things to myself, but on this occasion I was mad to relieve the longing."

About two months after Florrie had for the first time experienced the orgasm there occurred her first real erotic dream with orgasm during sleep.¹ "It came to me just as I was going

¹ I may remark that this succession of events is in accordance with what I have elsewhere stated (*Studies*, vol. i, 3d ed., p. 197), that it is the rule for women to experience the orgasm in sleep only after it has been experienced in waking life, a statement which has been criticized on insufficient grounds.

off to sleep (after having already been asleep once) and I was not sure at first whether I was awake or asleep. I lay face downwards on grass somewhere and a snake coiled itself round and round my naked body, and as it closed round me and drew me tight I had a delicious sensation. I knew it was a friendly snake and that it wanted to be nice to me, and I liked it in consequence. It is not now clear to me whether there were not two snakes, but I distinctly remember seeing one in a man's hand. He put it down between my legs, and it crawled up with a somewhat jerky movement, and I was not surprised at all when I felt it entering my body. Instead of horror it gave me a lovely sensation, and the part that was outside I clasped between my thighs. It seemed to occupy a great space inside me, but I dreaded the moment when it would withdraw itself, and was just wondering what would finally happen when I suddenly awoke. I tried to cherish the illusion that the snake was there, but finally awoke properly and realized that one arm was fastened under my body and tightly clasped between my thighs. The vulva was contracting spasmodically. There was no revulsion of feeling, but the thought of the wriggling, writhing thing working its way up inside me gave me a delicious sensation. It was a long time before I shook it off. Now writing this and thinking of snakes I still feel no horror. But I hope I shan't see one at a picture house or anywhere for I am afraid it would excite me. This was the most definite sex dream I ever had and was simply luscious." Florrie comments that she cannot remember dreaming of snakes previously, but had been reading of snakes the day before. She had seen snakes in the woods in France and their flexibility and writhing movement have a fascination for her. She connects this flexibility with her old preference for a pliable whip over a stick. "A snake is something like a whip,"¹ and to picture a writhing snake makes a sexual appeal to her. The snake, it need scarcely be said, is a recognized symbol of the penis, but

¹ The snake is, indeed, a symbol of the whip, and of the ancient Serb hero, Prince Kralyevich Marko, it was said that, when mounted on his steed, a serpent served him as bridle and another as a whip.

it has a greater resemblance to a whip, and thus naturally became identified in Florrie's subconscious mind with her own erotic symbol.

In this tentative and experimental period of transition there was, however, an interest which began to assume a certain stability, and became, in a sense, a substitute for the interest in whipping. This was an interest in the act of urination. It was not, as Florrie's history will have shown, a new interest, but one of early appearance, which had never quite died out, and now, with the recession of the interest in whipping, it became prominent. It may be defined as a mild form of urolagnia, and it is important to understand that it never became, as the passion for flagellation had been, an almost uncontrollable obsession, and never led, like the flagellatory mania, to those violent impulses and torturing apprehensions which had marked her auto-flagellatory phase. As Florrie herself recognized, while of a more peculiarly intimate and private character, it was also more nearly normal than the flagellatory obsession; it brought a certain measure of relief, and it indicated a real progress.

Before describing this new phase, however, an incident must be narrated which definitely brought to an end the dominance of the earlier craving. Whipping had not lost all its fascination, but it had ceased to be an uncontrollable obsession dominating the whole personality, and leading to acts which might well have become dangerous for Florrie's mental integrity as well as her social position. She was able to write: "The whipping craze seems to have evaporated for the present after raging for four years, and I suppose I ought to be glad. I don't know that I am exactly. I miss it in a way. It has left me as sexy as ever but in a vague and more general way." The reality of the progress made was, however, at this period put to the test. At the moment when she thought the obsession was subsiding altogether a letter unexpectedly arrived from N., full of enthusiasm over flagellation, the craze for which possessed him more than ever, and indicating that he had never met anyone so well suited to share in that enthusiasm as herself. At once the dying flame flared up into new life. She felt

ashamed of herself, she tried to escape from the reviving ardor, but in vain. He wanted another interview. She had no liking for the man, even hated the idea of his coming near her, or touching her with a whip. Yet for a moment the impulse was overmastering, and she wrote to agree to the interview, which this time was to be at her own house. The moment after she posted her letter she regretted it. She recalled all the progress she had made of late, the new standpoints of knowledge and self-control she had been reaching, her realization of the merely abstract, primitive, and animal nature of a sexual gratification obtained through whipping, however intense and pleasurable it might be, and her new recognition of sex feelings as too intimate and personal to be connected with anyone for whom she felt no love and respect. Florrie thus speedily recovered her self-command, revoked her first hasty decision, and wrote again to N. to explain that she could not, after all, grant him the interview, and no longer even desired it; so far as she was concerned all that was at an end. As soon as this second letter was despatched the revived obsession died down as suddenly as it had sprung up. This was a tremendous relief to Florrie. She felt genuinely grateful and glad. That, she thought, was the end of N. So far as her obsession was concerned, that was the end of N. But it was not the immediate end on his side. On the day and hour first appointed and afterwards cancelled, N. appeared at the house to Florrie's consternation. She explained that she had written to ask him not to come. He denied receiving the second letter (though later he inadvertently quoted a sentence from it) and still further agitated Florrie by raising his voice in excitement and demanding that at all events she should appoint another interview. At this point an afternoon caller was heard ringing the front door bell, and it became necessary to smuggle N. out of the drawing room immediately. He refused to leave the house. At this critical moment Florrie's feminine resourcefulness and presence of mind asserted themselves. She remembered an isolated, unused room at the top of the house, cut off by a separate stair-case, and to her great relief N. consented to follow her there. There she locked him

in, after he had nervously asked her to assure him that he was safe. When her visitor in the drawing room had finished her call Florrie at once flew up to the locked room where she found N. in a rather frightened state, she was not clear why, and after some difficulty, still refusing to agree to any further interviews, —though she was by no means feeling very brave—she succeeded in cajoling him down and let him out through a back door in the garden. That was the last she saw or heard of him. His fascination was completely lost. He had succeeded in making himself both contemptible and ridiculous.

The urolagnic interest, like the flagellatory interest, was, as we know, rooted in Florrie's experience as a child when the two were in origin combined. The emotional reservoir, so clearly associated with the sexual sphere, which her childish whippings stimulated, was that of fear, and the bladder played the most prominent part in the fear reaction, on one occasion at least producing urination directly her father began to whip her. But that early common root will hardly suffice to explain why it was that the urolagnic element developed at this stage to take the place of the receding flagellatory element. Let us look into the matter a little more closely. We may then find that there are links of connection apart from that early common origin.

Florrie herself, who became so acute an analyst of her own experiences, pointed out the significant fact that in a woman there is invariably a mental association,—an association which has no existence in a man's mind,—between the nates and the act of urination. The little girl's drawers must be unfastened behind to permit of the act being accomplished and the grown woman must raise her clothes behind for the same act; even when, as is now so often the custom, she adopts the standing attitude in private, she usually raises the clothes behind, though, as the stream tends to take a forward direction, it would be more convenient to raise them in front. Thus, throughout life, in a woman's mind there is an association between urination and bared prominent nates. Custom, as Florrie emphasizes, compels a woman to bare and protrude the nates and sit

for the purpose of urination, and when there is nothing to sit upon to squat, although, she adds, "as far as decency goes, it might be much more modest to turn one's back to any stray passerby, and raise the skirts in front, towards a protective bush; but this would be contrary to habit—and savour of a man!" Even when, as we have seen to be the case with Florrie, the practice of urination in the open without raising of the skirts is adopted, the prominence of the nates may still be asserted, for, as Florrie discovered, the act is best performed in this attitude when bending forward slightly and so protruding the nates. She had noticed this in women abroad and referred especially to a peasant woman she had once come across, with her skirts raised over her head, wearing no drawers, and bending far forward. "She was standing at the wayside and might have been picking flowers by the attitude, but for the upturned clothes, and the perfectly visible stream that descended with great force, splashing up and running off the grass to make a rivulet in the road." Florrie notes also having seen an exactly similar scene in a French engraving of the early eighteenth century. But this attitude is not only practically advantageous, it was also, in Florrie's experience, in itself a pleasant attitude, evidently because of the prominence it gave to the nates. "I remember many years ago trying it for the first time," she writes. "I was out with a party for a picnic and was too shy to suggest retiring, so it occurred to me that I might do it unnoticed if I pretended to pick flowers. I managed fairly well but splashed my dress in front. Unfortunately it showed, and I had to pretend I had got into some water in a ditch, and was fearfully embarrassed. But I remember distinctly that it gave me such a pleasurable feeling to do it stooping forward, much nicer than standing upright,—a more sexy sensation. I don't know how to explain this unless it is somehow vaguely and unconsciously connected with the bottom. I don't know how it may be with others."

There was, however, another favoring influence in this change of interest in Florrie's mind. The urolagnic day-dreams—although the urination interest and the whipping interest had

become apparently separated in her ideas for so many years during which the former had considerably receded—followed closely, so far as her recollections can be trusted, on the flagellatory day-dreams, at the time when she had clearly realized that these latter were sexual. But the latter prevailed not only by their elements of fear, anger, love of force, and desire for pain, but also by their appeal to touch. In urination she missed this sense of touch. It is probable, as she herself believes, that the urolagnic interest would not have become in any sense a substitute for the flagellatory interest if she had not accidentally discovered a mode of considerably heightening her delight in it by introducing the sensation of touch. She had not been in the habit of touching herself except with the whip, and such experiments as she had made in that direction by friction of the clitoris had yielded little result. She was, therefore, considerably surprised when on first making the experiment of allowing the stream in the act of urinating to gush over her hand she experienced not only a warm and pleasant sensation, but a decidedly sexual feeling, still further heightened if during the act the urethra or vulva was touched, although at other times such a touch would be without effect. This seemed to explain to her why it was she had long vaguely felt how nice it would be for someone to touch her there just as she was about to begin, especially "when the baldder is full and just dying to do a stream."

This experiment was prompted by the idea of trying to realize the sensation of someone else urinating upon her, an idea which she was now craving to realize as she had formerly craved to realize the idea of being whipped by a man. As it proved so successful, a new and powerful impulse was given to urolagnic day-dreams. On these lines Florrie's day-dreams now advanced rapidly. At the outset, as she herself remarked, the mere idea of urinating before a person of the other sex itself seems shocking, even to be discovered in the squatting position in a wood seems terrible. But the fascination of the situation grows ever more urgent, and ever bolder attitudes and situations are pictured in imagination, to be further elaborated

under the stimulus of the delicious sensations they arouse. In the conflict between shrinking modesty and reserve on the one hand, and these daring imaginations, the urolagnic impulse produced the same fascination of horror which accompanied the auto-flagellatory day-dreams.

There is yet another point to be mentioned in regard to this transformation of Florrie's phantasies, important as bringing out more clearly the fact that the transformation represented a real stage of progress towards the normal condition in other respects than in its greater harmlessness. It was more definitely heterosexual and more intimately personal. This also Florrie herself perceived and recognized as a new and additional attraction. In urolagnic phantasies she was able to realize a close and more intimate relationship with the hero of the day-dream than was possible by whipping. "I felt instinctively that more would depend on the man himself. One could be more indifferent to a man who used a whip than to a man who urinated on one."

Florrie added some remarks on what seemed to her the natural connection between urination and the sexual emotions, a connection often overlooked. "Even day-dreams always make me want to urinate, as well as being with one of the opposite sex I like, though I might not have the slightest inclination before. I don't know of course what others feel about it, for I have never heard, but I think most people vaguely feel that they would like more than they think they ought to say. When, as sometimes happens, a girl imagines in her ignorance that the sexual act consists in a man urinating on her, and this fancy persists in after life when she knows better, as a special liking, then I affirm that it is not entirely liked as a symbol only. Of course it is a form of erotic symbolism, and might disappear with the experience of normal coitus, just like the desire to be whipped, for the love of 'substitutes' is strengthened in those who are debarred from natural relationships. But for my part I think it a natural liking, intimately connected with the sexual feelings, and it seems chiefly prejudice which makes some people think otherwise."

With regard to the hero of Florrie's day-dreams, it may be remarked here that he was not a real person, but vague and imaginary. This was invariably the case in all her earlier periods of phantasy, and usually but not quite invariably in the later stages. This was a natural progression. Children do not normally weave their phantasies round real persons; they make them up, create them. Florrie's day-dreams in childhood and adolescence were a continuation of infantile phantasies, and they showed therefore the same normal absence of real persons. But in adult life, when the day-dreams again emerged, the preservation of this anonymity of the hero was more deliberate. Although the charm of the day-dreams lay largely in the emotional relief furnished by their shocking audacity, modesty and reserve yet prevented her from going so far as to take the liberty of introducing a real person into the hero part. "I can never get over the feeling," she writes, "that it seems like taking an unpardonable liberty with a real person to make him play a part like that. Day-dreams are such tremendously *real* things, that it seems even greater sacrilege than if it happened in real life. A moral embarrassment, probably far greater than in actual life, seizes me, and I *dare* not make another act as I should wish. It may be because my life has been lived so much among thoughts and intellectual ideas generally (or perhaps it is my 'psychoneurosis'!) that they take such a startling reality. I argue with myself that it can't possibly *hurt* the Person, especially as he will never know, and mightn't *care* even if he did, and that after all it is only a creation of my brain. Yet the fact remains I deny myself many nice day-dreams that would bring relief because I have this strange moral objection to involving another. Once or twice, I admit with shame, I have made delightful use of a real person in a rare day-dream, but awful qualms of repentance have followed. Yet it is a great relief, greater than the Abstract, so much more deliciously real. In my case, it could never be an absolute stranger I had casually seen, as in a railway train; that seems to me not only appalling impudence, but makes no appeal. It must be someone I know, like and respect and

secretly adore." What real person was introduced into the part on these rare occasions Florrie never mentioned and was never asked. It must be added, however, that her scrupulosity in this matter—unreasonable as it may seem—was entirely normal. As the purely imaginary day-dreams of the infantile stage take on a more adult form they fall more and more into line with real life. That is an approximation to the normal. But it is also normal that precisely because the day-dreams are thus brought close to real life there should be the same scruple as real life would bring of abusing the personality of another. This is strongly felt by entirely normal and healthy women (men are probably often less scrupulous) who if they are betrayed into an erotic day-dream concerning a real person will often experience deep shame.¹

Before, however, proceeding to describe Florrie's urolagnic day-dreams we may at this point touch on her nocturnal dreams during sleep. It may perhaps seem that this should have been done at an earlier stage. Florrie is not, however, a vivid dreamer; she herself remarks that all her powers of dreaming have been absorbed in day-dreaming. Except the dream already recorded, she has never had any sexual dream, and she has never dreamt of whipping. The matters that most absorb her attention during waking activity fail to enter her dreams (it is the experience of many); they are mostly made up of the trivialities of the previous day, mingled with reminiscences of people and incidents belonging to school life and the period before marriage. It seems probable that she dreams more often

¹ In this and many other respects Florrie was more normal than Zenia X. (whose history is indirectly recorded in the *Psychoanalytic Review*, October, 1914). In many points, even of detail, Zenia X. and Florrie, whose day-dreams began in each case at the age of nine, are alike. But whereas Florrie, who never saw the slightest objection to the pleasure of actual urination in a wood, felt very scrupulous about introducing a real person into a day-deam, Zenia regarded urination in a wood as a sexual temptation to be strongly resisted, but saw not the slightest objection to the introduction into her phantasies of real persons towards whom her affections went out. In other words, the moral censure was in Florrie's case on the imaginary world, not on the actual world, in Zenia's case on the actual world, not on the imaginary world, and that means a deeper degree of abnormality, since the energies shut out from the real world furnish a mischievous potency in the unreal world.

than she believes, but her dreams are pale and fade on waking if no effort is made to retain them. They usually occur about the period of menstruation.

She was requested to observe them and note them down carefully on waking. The significant fact was thus disclosed that though she had no dreams of whipping, her more vivid dreams, though not urolagnic, were symbolic of urination, and this was the case even when she had not herself realized it, though she had discovered the influence of a full bladder on dream activity. A few examples may be given, though it can scarcely be said that Florrie's dreams throw any special light upon her history, beyond confirming what was already clear, and they belong to easily recognizable types.

"Just before the last menstrual period and when the bladder seemed more full than usual (I seem to urinate more often then) I had the following dream. I was in a church. This dream has come to me before; but this time it was an English church and there were rows of pews well filled. I wanted to get out, and finally found myself walking up the aisle; everyone stared and looked reprovingly at me, but I pressed on and passed through a south door to find myself in some cloisters. There a foreign guide came up and assured me in a confidential way that he could show me the way (I was quite vague as to my ultimate destination, but I seemed to be hurrying *somewhere*). He pointed out that I could pass through the rooms of the picture gallery and come out at the other end. 'No one will stop you and you will be unobserved.' I hurried through deserted rooms with polished floors, and walls lined with old masters. But I did not stop to look at any. I was pressing on eagerly to the exit.

"Then I came to a door, and pushing it open found to my horror that I was in a room occupied by two librarians seated at a table writing among books. Their faces were quite unfamiliar. I apologized and beat a hasty retreat, but was called back. They said they wanted my opinion about a new book. I was seized with fearful panic, for I wanted to get to the exit, and was being hindered. Hastily and abruptly I pushed through

a door I saw opposite, and was once more in galleries and corridors. Oddly enough—and how I got there I don't know—I found myself next in a tiny shop, where a man was serving me with black satin waistcoats for gentlemen. 'Ah, not *black*!' I exclaimed in horror and rushed out. Finally I found myself, calm and collected, on the steps of a house to be let or sold. It was empty, and had a dreary, deserted look. It was apparently in a London Square. I opened the door with a key and entered a gloomy hall, passing up the dark staircase. It was getting dusk and a shiver, partially of fear, came over me. The sensation of going up and up, and not daring to look round was very vivid. I wandered aimlessly through vacant rooms, feeling depressed and anxious. All was silent till I tried a bell to see if it would ring, and then was alarmed at the loud, clanging sound that echoed through the deserted house and in the basement below. I stood stock still, alarmed at my own temerity in having disturbed the stillness, still more alarmed when I became conscious of distant regular footsteps echoing through the empty house. I was rooted to the spot with terror, as tramp, tramp, came the steps up the stairs, approaching nearer and nearer. I made sure it was some ghostly inhabitant coming to visit me, disturbed by the bell, and I finally found courage to move through a door near. This led me to a landing and some stairs which brought me eventually to the kitchen. The basement was quite dark and the kitchen shutters were closed; but presently it grew lighter and I saw a window, typical of a city basement, and a table near it. It was like the kitchen of an early home—the same house where I used to get the whippings—but in my dream it seemed a strange house. As the light appeared I saw traces of cooking about, and wondered how they came there. I was undecided what to do, when a housemaid came out of the scullery, but I experienced no surprise or fright. My thoughts were centered on the floor. It was stone. But it was not that which was riveting my attention. The floor was wet, it was running with water apparently. Astonished, I questioned the servant who looked embarrassed, and then laughed and explained: 'It was cook done that!' I

thought at first she meant the cook had spilt some water, then her meaning dawned, and I expressed my horror at cook's behavior. For it was evident cook had made water on the kitchen floor. After this I have no clear recollection of what happened. When I got up the bladder was very full. This dream was early in the morning. The bell may have been the first breakfast bell, and the fear I felt was like that I had when my father was coming to whip me. The Picture Gallery was suggested by the fact that I had been studying "The Madonna di San Sisto" the night before." This dream is full of the symbolism of urinary desire, and nothing is commoner in such dreams than for the sleeper's desire to be embodied in the action of another person.

The next dream brought forward was as follows:

"I was in a vast Cathedral. There were broad aisles and lofty arches and stained glass windows. At first I was under the impression that I was in Westminster Abbey, but this idea faded away and I knew I was in some foreign building. Facing me was a gorgeous High Altar and I was reminded somehow of St. Roch, although the rest of the building was not unlike Antwerp Cathedral. There was a good deal of crimson about the High Altar, and lighted candles. But what impressed me most was the multitude assembled there. I was near the back (West end) wedged in with others on cane-seated chairs. The whole of the vast Cathedral seemed packed with people. I spoke to someone at the back, expressing my wish to go out. I had a great longing to leave, I don't know why. I next found myself in a large bare building occupied only by some school-children who were congregated on the back seats. Again discontent came over me. I enquired when 'the performance' would begin, and finding it impossible to sit still I said, 'I will go to take my ticket.' A lady replied, 'Oh, but the ticket office is closed. It won't be open yet.' Nevertheless, I rushed about trying to get my ticket. Then a diversion was caused by the entrance of a lovely collie dog. The children played with it, but it showed a special liking for me, and I caressed it and it followed me about. Still impatient, I sprang up and said, 'I

think I should like to see the room we are to sleep in at the Hotel.' So I went out of the door and asked a man to direct me. The rest of the building I was in seemed to be the hotel and he said, 'Turn to the left and then again to the left and then to the right.' I seemed to run (with the collie following) down long white marble passages with great white doors on either side. They were all closed tightly, silence reigned, and there was no sign of life. I had been told that our bedroom was the billiard room and I now thought of asking directions, for I had lost my way. A man passed, but I did not stop him to enquire, for how, I thought, can our bedroom be the billiard room? Anyhow, it sounds silly; I will go back and abandon the search. I don't much care for this cold, deserted *campo santo* sort of place. I long to be in the open air, and out of these confined passages. I next found myself on a country road. The day was hot and it was summer. The road was very white and dusty and by the side were green banks. I sat down by the roadside on the grassy bank and my husband sat by me. I did not seem surprised to see him. I looked down the long white road and was conscious of something coming towards me, moving rapidly. 'Oh, it is the collie!' I exclaimed in delight. But as it approached it changed gradually into a small pony—brown and very pretty. 'This must be the children's pony' I said, 'no doubt it is a great pet.' I sought thus to connect it with the children in the building. It came straight towards us, and evidently wanted to be noticed. I was delighted, and caressed it, patting its back, and it seemed most friendly. Then its legs seemed to shrivel up somehow and what was left of the legs became tucked up under its body, so that it nestled down on a level with us on the bank, between us. It thrust its head under my arm and wriggled about its body and I caressed its silky hair and called imploringly to my husband to fondle it too. 'Oh, do! do!' I pleaded, 'just pat its nice fat sides, it does want you to so much. Look at it, how it is simply asking you to notice it.' I was burying my face in its plump back and enjoying its demonstrations of affection. But my husband moved away about half a yard on the bank and refused. 'I never care to

touch strange animals,' he said. 'They might bite, I will leave you to caress it.' Then the road and the bank and my husband and the pony vanished. I found myself back again in the Church, still crowded, so that I could not get a seat in the nave. But there were some odd chairs on the north side, on a line with the High Altar. I sat in one, but I did not like it, as I had thus to face the congregation, and I felt shy. Presently I became aware that the chair was somewhat rickety and I thought to myself that 'These chairs were evidently broken ones, put here to be out of the way, and not meant for people to sit on.' To the right a door opened on to some cloisters and just inside stood a priest who seemed to be conducting the service. Presently some women and a child came pushing in near me, and took chairs behind. The chairs were smaller than mine, but the woman said they would do. I was very puzzled as to how a woman could squeeze herself into a child's chair with sides. The woman near me was English. She repelled me, being of the common tripper type seen in summer on the sands at the seaside. She had red in her hat, and the sides of the chairs were painted red. A child, a little boy, came and pushed himself between my knees. He was looking at a picture book. The presence of this infant perturbed me dreadfully, though I felt it was rather nice and seemed fond of me. I wished it would go out, for it was making me uncomfortable. Then I spoke to the woman in the red hat about the chairs and she admitted hers was more than shaky, but she was willing to risk it. Then I had a curious sensation. The cane seat of the chair seemed to be crumbling away beneath me. The chair frame stood firm, but very gradually the cane work sank and burst round, so that I was gradually let through the chair, but yet entirely supported by the framework, so that no one knew of the disaster. I had been afraid of the chair collapsing, and I thought the congregation would see me and laugh. I did not pray, or feel religious. My thoughts were with the chair, and the child—who had now gone. Then—although I do not remember distinctly quitting the chair—I found myself with my

mother in another part of the same building. An official was showing us some old carved pews.

"A row of cherry stones were ranged on the top of one of the pews and he was telling my mother her fortune. I remember vaguely that he said a lot of things, and finally that my mother was going to America and there she would rise to a high position and wear a red and gold official cap. She laughed and said he must be telling his own fortune, since he wore a red and gold three-cornered hat, and ladies were not so decorated. He emphasized the fact that in America ladies were admitted to all sorts of honors denied them in England, and that it was quite possible for my mother to rise to a high position. He turned to me and asked if I would not like to see the ladies' swimming contest. He showed us a sort of narrow artificial canal, with some painted scenery behind. I protested loudly that it was most unwomanly to swim! We had a heated controversy, over all the things women ought or ought not to do. Then I found myself quite alone walking behind the High Altar. There was no one there. All at once I became aware of a man's approach. He was a very seedy individual, his clothes once black were now of a greenish tinge, dusty and unkempt, his thick black hair hung disordered, and he had a dusty shabby half bowler on his head. The face was sallow, tending to a greenish shade, heavy and inert. His black eyes were dull, his expression lifeless. It was N. A very changed N., but still I recognized him; I did not like to allude to his changed appearance, but he saw the question in my eyes and he said dully: 'I am hard up.' I began to reproach him and reminded him that he had said he had just received some money. 'That's spent,' he said. 'I want more.' I felt sick. I shivered and wondered how I could ever have let him touch me. 'I must have been mad,' I thought, 'such an odious brute!' He still pressed for money. I told him (rather irrelevantly) that I was not now so much affected by my old craze, and did not want him and begged him to go away. Then he was furious and put his hand on my shoulder and shook me violently. I had a curious sense of dwindling away and disappearing, and

then I awoke. It was 6 A.M. and I made water to a great extent. It is one of the most complete dreams I ever had. Yet I cannot trace its origin as well as of the previous dream, and I do not remember thinking about churches. But a collie had come into our garden and could not get out. I was much amused at its antics in trying to escape. The pony I cannot account for, except very faintly. The children were undoubtedly caused by reading the night before about the erotic satisfaction some women feel when suckling their babies. A lady I once met told me it was the sweetest sensation she had ever experienced in her life, and I thought of this. Although women never affect me erotically I remembered how twice in my life, once when a child, and again when grown up, I had been profoundly affected at the sight of a woman with a baby at her breast. The cane-seated chair was the outcome of my wish to buy some chairs of this description. The sense of going through was suggested by my weight."

The foregoing dream, although Florrie remarked in sending it that she did not know if it showed any indication of being a bladder dream, is really very typical of the vesical dream. In manifest content, as Freud would put it, there is no reference to urination throughout, yet the symbolism constantly tends to have reference to that function and to the state of desire that precedes it: the "latent content" is throughout urinary, and so it distinctly falls into what I term the vesical group of dreams.¹

The following dream Florrie described as one of the most vivid she had ever had:

"I dreamt I was sitting in front of a fire day-dreaming. The room was apparently a kind of salon, with French windows to the left. I seemed to be the only person in the room and I was wrapped in a reverie of most engrossing nature when I turned my head to look out of the window and saw the curtain move. It was pulled back and I saw my mother behind, sitting

¹ It is sometimes overlooked, I may remark here, that not only the sexual impulse but any other repressed primary impulse may form the latent content of a dream, beneath a manifest content of quite different texture.

by the window. I felt perturbed, as though she had intruded on my privacy. She spoke to me and then all was silent. Suddenly I became conscious that the rain was coming down in torrents, quite a deluge, I could hear it, and looking out I saw it, although dimly, for it was nearly dark. My father was outside (he has been dead some years) and called out to my mother, saying it was too wet for her to come out. The streets were running with water. From the window the outlook was the same as from rooms we had once occupied at Ostend. Then my mother got up and approached me. She was all in black, deep mourning (black often comes into my dreams), and came forward with a gliding motion. As she drew near she seemed strangely unlike my mother, grew transformed and uncanny. She was tall and thin with a long black wriggling train to her dress (I saw the same figure in a dream at Florence once), had light fluffy hair and a weird witch-like expression on her face. She came close behind me and put her hand (a small white hand) on my shoulder. I shuddered with horror, and she remonstrated and was much hurt at my aversion. I was semi-clothed, the upper part of my body had only a vest on, and the touch of her hand was on my bare flesh. She explained that she was my mother and I ought not to rebuff her, but I still drew back. She tried to push down my vest and I protested and stopped her, and she saw my repugnance and her face was full of bitter hatred. The expression was awful. I begged her to take her hands off me. She then placed her left hand on my neck and bid me look. I gazed in a sort of fascinated horror, and when she lifted her hand off the little finger was left behind adhering to my skin, and a bright blue flame appeared on the bed opposite—for the room now seemed somehow to have become a bedroom. A most triumphant, uncanny expression of delight at my terror came over her face. I imagined she was a witch and was horror-struck. I then awoke.

"This dream I imagine was suggested by the lady doctor remembrance. I cannot in any way account for the bright blue flame. The incident of sitting in my vest was suggested by the fact that I had been trying on some vests. The rain I

cannot account for since the night was fine, as was the preceding day. When I awoke it was about two o'clock and I jumped out of bed to urinate, being in some distress with a full bladder."

So far as the central part of this dream is concerned with its torrents of rain, it is definitely and typically symbolic of the desire to urinate. A bright light, such as seen in the conclusion of the dream, is often caused by some actual light seen through the curtain of the eyelids, and the concluding episode of the dream was suggested by a reminiscence which came to Florrie's mind before falling asleep of a physical examination by a woman doctor which had been undergone with much repugnance. This genital suggestion was the naturally resultant secondary element not uncommon in vesical dreams.

It was desirable to test the nature and quality of Florrie's nocturnal dreams, but the field hardly seemed to be rich enough to repay much cultivation. In Florrie's case, throughout, the day-dream has absorbed most of the subconscious psychic activity which in some people is brilliantly manifested in nocturnal dreaming, and, rightly or wrongly, here there seemed no need to employ any complex and dubious methods of interpretation. This remained so in her last and urolagnic phase.

Although the urolagnic day-dreams had their origin some way back, and though, as we have seen, whipping and urination were throughout connected in Florrie's mind, the whipping day-dreams always leading to a desire to urinate, the two classes of day-dreams had tended to remain separate, and now it was the urolagnic group that covered the whole field and attained new and bolder developments, in which the climax tended to become the representation of the act of urination accomplished upon her own body. There was a general mark of this class of dreams, distinguishing them from the whipping dreams, not only in the fact, already noted, that they were more intimate and personally individualized, but that, instead of being located indoors, they were always imagined as out of doors and thus came to be connected with rural scenery, and to find symbolic links of association with Nature and with natural scenery. There was thus

an instinctive attempt not only to poetize what might seem their unduly physiological character, but to diffuse their intensity in a widespread interest in the forms of water in Nature. Florrie was thus brought near to that psycho-sexual tendency which I am inclined to call Undinism. There remained a community of nature with the flagellatory day-dreams in a sensory foundation that was mainly that of touch, a sense which usually plays a leading part in the erotic emotion of women. Merely to observe the act of urination Florrie regarded as a secondary pleasure, "though not without a delicious charm." It was to the sense of touch that the imaginative appeal was made ("why, if one squeezes warm water out of a sponge on to one's flesh, it gives one thrills"); to be taken into a field or wood in summer time, stripped of her clothes under the shade of the trees, and then the sensation of the stream on her flesh, all the more delicious because connected with the most intimate thoughts, feelings, and sensations. The hero, while usually somewhat shadowy, was always a man, never a woman.

A typical dream was described as follows: "I am generally in a wood or glen, with open spaces here and there, and very often a brook or running water near. Of course it is summer. I am lying, generally face downward, on a comfortable grass plot (softer in my imagination than it probably would be in reality) when the Stranger comes up. I cannot identify him, for my day-dreams have always been indistinct on this point. (But in my night dreams persons are always distinct.) Although strange I feel that he is nice. I say 'feel' because that just expresses it. I don't *see* him clearly, but I *feel* he wants to please me. He sits down by me, and talks, but it rather passes over my head, for I feel that he is giving me a vague sexy feeling and I cannot resist it. He seems to know exactly how I feel, and sympathizes. Custom and conventionality make a woman dread to admit that she wants anything from a man, but being a day-dream and strictly private, I admit frankly that I am longing for him to urinate on me. He guesses it, and expresses a strong wish to do so, but I must remove my clothes, in order to feel it on my bare flesh, and not to wet my garments.

This rather appals me, but he helps me, and the touch of his hand thrills me. As each garment is removed I feel more and more helpless but more and more sexy. Finally nude, I try to hide in the grass, feeling at a disadvantage and very uncomfortable. He is clothed and that seems to accentuate his already masculine superiority, whilst my unclothed state accentuates my feminine inferiority. At the same time it increases my sex feeling, which is largely based on a perhaps exaggerated view of the sex differences. (Some old pictures—Giorgione's Concert in the Louvre, for instance—give us clothed men and naked women, but I don't know of an instance where it is reversed.) He seems to be in no hurry to begin, and when he just places his hand on my thigh and rests it there I feel thrills of delight. Then lying, half hidden in the grass, I am conscious that he is preparing himself to begin. But this critical moment has never become a very clear incident, even in a day-dream just told to myself. I have never dared to picture it. I feel vaguely, perhaps erroneously, that he might resent my watching him, and my inability to read the thoughts of another causes the picture to become blurred here. But I can quite imagine that the tiniest element of phallus worship might easily develop under these circumstances.

"I picture him in all sorts of attitudes, standing, kneeling, half lying, anyhow, so that I can feel the benefit of the warm, soothing stream. He turns me over so that I feel it everywhere, it is delicious on the breasts and arms and thighs. Sometimes I picture him naked and then he treads on me with bare feet, or stands astride my thighs. Sometimes I stand and he kneels or stands, accentuating the pleasure by putting his left hand between my thighs. But the most delicious sensation of all is when I lie face downwards and he pulls my legs wide apart and kneels between them and urinates right into the vulva. Sometimes he does this with me face upwards, and it is always a triumph of sensations—I seem to crave more and more. In itself the sensation is delicious, added to the keen feeling that it is part of himself and precious on that account. Very often these day-dreams are so strong that I can distinctly detect the

odor of urine, although I am aware that this is a trick of the senses. In my day-dream it pleases me, too, to see it done, although the sight is perhaps a trifle subordinate to the sensation produced by the running fluid on one's bare flesh. I think, too, that I should not object to it on my face, or even in my mouth.

"Day-dreams of this description are such a horribly private sort of thing that it appears a kind of treachery to oneself to drag them to daylight! I feel ashamed, too, as if I never ought to have thus indulged myself. One does it so secretly that when it is written down in words one feels astonished and abashed. Still, this does not make it less real, although it costs me something to write it."

This was the chief though not the only variety of urolagnic day-dream which Florrie experienced. She never realized it in life, never even made the slightest attempt to realize it; it was too intimate and private for that. But she craved for it, and would lie face downward on the bed or sofa, as in the days of her whipping obsession, and sometimes would pull up her clothes and imagine that the desired act was being performed over her, sometimes even squirt warm water on to herself in order to simulate the experience. These manifestations, it must be noted, were far slighter than the corresponding manifestations associated with flagellation, and of comparatively faint obsessional power.

She would also indulge in the act of urination in unconventional ways that seemed to make it more interesting and attractive. The method she found most pleasing was to adopt a semi-reclining position with separated legs. After various experiments on the floor and the bed, etc., she found most success and satisfaction by placing a cane chair in a large long bath and leaning back in the chair with a leg resting on each side of the bath, the vulva being held open by both hands; "then there shoots out a fountain-like stream that descends in a semi-circle at the other end of the bath, rising slightly above its level," with variations in direction, extent, and height every time the experiment is repeated. "It gives one a lovely sensation," she adds, "I don't know why."

It will be observed that Florrie instinctively introduces the analogy of a fountain. It is necessary to emphasize the point that her urolagnic phantasies, unlike her flagellational obsessions, tended to take on an open-air character and to be diffused in natural imagery which was that of water generally. This is a characteristic of what I call Undinism.

In childhood Florrie's urinary associations were most definitely with the bath, and also with the color yellow in general. (She remarked also that the connection of urine with yellow ochre paint has been vivid from childhood.) But from an early age the act of urination began to become mixed with beautiful natural imagery, although it was not apparently until her late urolagnic phase emerged that these associations became prominent in her mind. She points out the charm which is always felt to inhere in fountains which send out jets of water to fall into a basin of still water beneath, and she suggests that children are unconsciously aiming at the same effect when they urinate into the bath, or, better still, in the open, in some secluded spot in the wood where there is a little brook. "The idea of water mingling with water is a great fascination, though it must be smooth water, a lake rather than the sea. It is also interesting when done from some little height. A person thus raised above the eye level presents, too, a new charm. (Hence, I suppose the pictures I have seen in Paris of girls being held in the air while doing it.) Of course it is difficult to say how common this liking is, for the persons most impressed are just those most likely to be secretive. And I must say that as a rule they do not receive much encouragement to be otherwise. The erotic nature of the attraction is possibly proved by the fact that, personally, it would not interest me particularly in one of my own sex." As regards woods, Florrie writes: "There is something fascinating in the sound of the stream descending on dead leaves in a wood, the rustle and sense of wetness in the midst of so much parched dryness, as though the earth must welcome and swallow up the slightest moisture. In a wood one seems nearer to the heart of Nature. The artificial elements that accompany the act in an enclosed room have dis-

appeared; it assumes a new character and is seen in a fresh light. This applies in a measure to all acts of Nature, and makes one understand the idea of fauns and nymphs. All sex acts seem better out of doors, especially in a wood. As a girl the dread of having a baby was especially associated with the accompaniments of a sick room, of which I had a dread, never having experienced any illness. The idea appealed to me strongly of having babies, like savages who seem to suffer so much less, in woods and caves. As a child I was much impressed by that famous passage in Jeremy Taylor where the same thought seems in his mind concerning the final act of Nature, and he describes the pompous paraphernalia of Death, which yet is 'the same harmless thing that a poor shepherd suffered yesterday.' I pictured the 'poor shepherd' out in the open, by the running stream and waving trees, being made one with Nature."

Florrie digresses. It will be seen that there has been a continuous decrease in the emotional tension of her phantasies. That movement of relaxation had indeed been proceeding, through all changes in the form of her sexual interests, during the whole period of her history which we have here been able to study. But at the point we have now reached it became marked. Her visits ceased. Her letters became ever shorter and the intervals between them ever longer. She expressed gratitude for the help she had received, but she no longer seemed to feel in need of it. "With regard to Florrie," she wrote at length in a brief note, "there is nothing to relate." Finally came the announcement, in answer to a letter of enquiry: "I have been meaning to write for some time past to tell you that, as you may have guessed from my long silence, Florrie is dead."

The story of Florrie, so far as it is known, here comes to an end. Nothing has been heard of her in the years that have followed. It would be rash to assume that her sexual odyssey has been finally completed. Obviously a woman in the full vigor of life who has not attained to normal sexual relationship, although she has slowly reached an approximation to the normal

sexual attitude, may have many emotional troubles still ahead. But, whatever these troubles may be, we can be fairly certain that they will never again take on the threatening and alarming aspects which they sometimes assumed in the past. Henceforth Florrie knows herself and understands the mechanism of the sexual impulse. She walks in light where formerly she stumbled in a darkness full of awful spectres. For years a mysteriously cloaked terrible figure had seized her from behind in an iron clutch she could not shake off, threatening her with insanity and all sorts of dreadful fates. Now she is able to turn round and face it, to observe, with calm critical eyes, and that quiet shrewd humor native to her, what it is made of, and the iron clutch loosens and the monster dissolves into mist, a mist that even seems beautiful.

We are familiar with such a result. It may indeed seem to some that the whole history of Florrie could have been dismissed in a sentence. So it might. But, as Freud more than anyone has shown us, the minute and prolonged study of an individual history can rarely fail to be profitable. In the present case, while the general pattern may seem familiar, yet the details possess a significance and illumination which extend far beyond the individual history. Aristotle said that the work of human art must ever show a continual slight novelty. So also it is in the art of Nature. I have set down Florrie's case in careful detail—though condensing and suppressing much that seemed irrelevant—in order to disentangle the slight novelty and to discover what it may teach us.

It may teach us the more since Florrie is far from being a highly abnormal person. It is true that we find insanity in a collateral branch of her family, but the general mental disposition and nervous system which she has herself inherited are in most respects sound and normal, even of excellent quality, and the germs of inherited abnormality, which I distinctly believe to be there, are yet so small as to be almost invisible. Florrie seems to the world generally, as to her husband and all her friends, a stable normal person.

How, then, it may be asked, has it come about that these minute germs developed? Why has the sexual impulse in Florrie's case passed through stages that seem so definitely abnormal? And how can we account for the particular forms of perversion which this abnormal development assumed?

It seems to me that Florrie's history brings out at least three groups of factors which all had a share in determining the deviation of the sexual mechanism in her case, and are of general instruction.

The first group of considerations are of a negative kind and concerned with the absence of the normal stimuli of sex. It is well known that in women, to a far greater extent than in men, the sexual impulse needs to be definitely aroused in order to enter normal paths, and that in the absence of definite stimulation a certain proportion of women are not conscious of normal sexual needs although the impulse is still working unconsciously within them. Now Florrie had been to an unusual extent safeguarded against sexual stimuli, whether from without or within. She was carefully brought up by prosperous parents who were able to protect her from all dubious influences, while her own extreme shyness, reserve, and staid dignity prevented her from making approaches to sexual matters, and equally prevented others from bringing such matters to her. These influences were fortified by her youthful training in social, artistic, and literary ideals and activities. They were further aided by Florrie's slow mental development, for while her intellectual powers are much above the average she was not mentally precocious, and her nervous and cerebral activities generally are of a solid and deliberate order. The decisive influence of a negative kind in Florrie's slow and devious development was, however, her marriage. The course of deviation had, indeed, begun long before marriage, but so unobtrusively, even to her own consciousness, that if at twenty-eight she had been united to a vigorous and congenial mate, of her own age and able to arouse her sexual emotions, she would never have seemed to herself or to anyone who knew her, how-

ever intimately, anything other than a completely normal woman within the usual range of slight variation.

To admit the influence of these negative conditions on Florrie's development is to assert by implication that the auto-erotic impulses which, notwithstanding, actually developed had a fundamental organic basis. That I consider to be the case. We now know that to place the sexual impulse in any kind of environmental vacuum may effect the direction of its growth, but will not prevent growth in some direction. We know, moreover, that in childhood, when the same environmental vacuum is produced naturally, through the absence in early life of any mechanism of response to external sexual stimuli, auto-erotic or spontaneous pseudo-sexual impulses still tend to occur, the activities that later are to become genuinely sexual being manifested in play forms that are trivial or at most imperfect, and often symbolic. The two auto-erotic forms in which the infantile sex impulse appeared in Florrie's case were, we have seen, the urolagnic and the auto-flagellatory. The first of these belongs to the scatologic group of childish interests which are now generally recognized to be exceedingly common. They have an organic basis of their own quite distinct from sex, while at the same time there are definite reasons why they should frequently be associated with, or substituted for, sex interests. While, however, the prevalence of the scatologic interest in childhood is now well recognized, it is doubtful whether the prevalence of the whipping interest is equally well recognized. No doubt it is often absent (as also is the scatologic interest) but it is present so often, and quite apart from whether the child has had any actual experience of whipping, that it seems to me that we must regard it as a normal, though by no means constant, manifestation of the auto-erotic impulse in childhood. I find it more common in girls than in boys and more common in inverted men than in normal men. In my observation it is found so often that it is almost possible to give it the same position which used to be given to a homosexual strain in childhood, although we must not be led by the over-

emphasis on the homosexual strain to minimize its importance or to overlook the fact that it has a constitutional basis which must ever tend to re-appear. Nothing is constant and invariable in the sexual sphere, but it will probably be found, on careful observation, that the flagellatory interest in childhood is at least as frequent as the homosexual interest.¹ It is not necessary here to discuss the origin of this interest and its natural foundation.² We must regard the whip as a natural symbol of the penis. One of the most frequent ways in which the idea of coitus first faintly glimmers before the infantile mind—and it is a glimmer which, from an evolutionary standpoint, is biologically correct—is as a display of force, of aggression, of something resembling cruelty. Whipping is the most obvious form in which to the young mind this idea might be embodied. The penis is the only organ of the body which in any degree resembles a whip.³ The idea may be supported in the minds of some young boys, though this would not refer to girls, by the nature of the sensations experienced in the penis. Thus it comes

¹ I may mention as fairly typical the early experiences of an entirely normal woman of good heredity, married and a mother, who during the years of puberty and early adolescence, from the age of thirteen to sixteen, when lying in bed would have occasional phantasies of being whipped. These phantasies would excite her so that she could not sleep, and she now recognizes that this excitement was of a sexual nature. She was not whipped as a child, and is entirely unable to account for such day-dreams or for the effect they had upon her. Sometimes the sexual flagellatory impulse may only emerge in a dream of the night. Thus a married woman, aged 30, healthy and normal, with well developed sexual feelings, has never had any experience of whipping or desire for it. Recently a man friend, interested in the subject, succeeded in persuading her to let him try its effects on her; she remained entirely cold and indifferent. Shortly after, however, she had a dream of being whipped which was accompanied by excitement and orgasm. There was evidently a possibility of association between the sex impulse and the idea of whipping, though only revealed in the sub-conscious state. We seem to see (as I have often tried to make clear) that there is a latent disposition to anomalies in the organism itself, so that there is no need to fall back always on the fantasies of psychogenetic speculation to account for their existence.

² I have dealt with this question in *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. iii, 2d ed., pp. 137-150.

³ It has even been at one time commonly so used for educational purposes. We read in old literature of the bull's pizzle with which the school-master was provided for the correction of his pupils.

about that, as Sadger remarks, "penis and whip are equivalent."¹

All these infantile forms of the sexual impulse—homosexual, scatologic, flagellatory, or what not—we are accustomed in our solemn adult way to call "perversions." I have always preferred to call them symbolisms, more or less auto-erotic in origin. Whatever we call them we have to recognize that they are natural. They are manifestations of a normal and necessary play instinct, with those beneficial effects which Groos established as associated with the play-instinct generally in Nature. From the standpoint of the fully developed sexual impulse they present that impulse in a deviated or twisted form, just as (to repeat an analogy I have elsewhere used) the young fronds present to us in a curled and twisted form what will later become the large and graciously expanding leaves of ferns. It is indeed what we see throughout living Nature where young life ever develops under pressure, contorted into strange forms which are straightened out when the period of functional activity approaches. But that period never would approach if the earlier fantastic period had not preceded it.² We must beware, therefore, of terming it abnormal; the real abnormality would be the appearance of the developed adult impulse at the infantile stage.

In Florrie's case, however, there really was a deviation which lay in an arrest of the development of the sexual impulse at the infantile, or rather pre-pubertal, stage. Normally, at puberty and early adolescence, the process of straightening out more or less harmoniously occurs, and the earlier impulses are transmuted into, or at the least subordinated to, the adult

¹ *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. v, p. 188. Sadger elsewhere (*ib.*, p. 498) refers to a patient who as a child seems to have thought that in coitus his father whipped his mother on the buttocks with his penis.

² I by no means wish to assume that the play functions of sex are only valuable in early life. They are specifically human and are associated with the general retention of childlike qualities which marks man. "The play function of sex," as Parmelee remarks (*Personality and Conduct*, p. 113), "has been an important factor in the evolution of civilization," and see Havelock Ellis, *Little Essays of Love and Virtue*, Ch. VI. The Play-function of Sex.

impulse of sexual attraction. In Florrie's case, placed as she was in an environment without sexual stimuli, the transmutation took the form of a premature sublimation or, rather, pseudo-sublimation, into artistic and literary activities, a transmutation which was apparently complete. But, as we know, sublimation cannot be complete, even when it is the developed form of sexual energy that is sublimated. The artistic developments of the sexual impulse during adolescence are normal when they represent an idealized manifestation of the sexual impulse itself. But in Florrie's case they represented no such manifestation. They were not really a sublimation at all. The yet undeveloped impulse remained in its arrested state to develop unconsciously, shut off from external stimuli and consequently still arrested in form. Meanwhile, Florrie was attaining an unusual degree alike of mental power and robust physical development. The organism was reaching its full adaptation for sexual activity, and finally this repressed activity came to the surface at the age of twenty-eight, under such conditions as her constitution and experience rendered possible.¹

This active manifestation of the sexual impulse, not at first realized as sexual, assumed the form of an interest in whipping of the nates by a man, the whip becoming a sexual fetich, and the mental absorption on this subject inducing auto-flagellation. This leads us to the third instructive factor in Florrie's sexual deviation. It has been pointed out that an emotional interest in whipping is so common about the age of puberty, especially in girls, that it may be regarded as coming within the range of normal variation.² But that this in-

¹ I have elsewhere (*Studies*, vol. iii, p. 243) brought forward many considerations tending to show that it is at the age of from twenty-eight to thirty that the sexual impulse tends to be strongest in women, and sexual desire to be most consciously experienced.

² This argument was elaborated by Freud some two years before the present study was written (*Internationale Zeitschrift für Ärztlich. Psychoanalyse*, 1916, translated in *Freud's Collected Papers*, vol. ii, 1924) in a notable paper, "A Child is being Beaten," which is often referred to. But I had not seen it when my own paper was published. I may add that the two papers are not in conflict. Freud's deals with flagellation mainly as a phantasy throughout, not, as I have, putting forward a case in which early whipping was an experienced fact and the demonstrable foundation for phantasy.

terest, after naturally dying down in early adolescence, should suddenly re-assert itself spontaneously, and with an immeasurably increased intensity, after an interval of some fifteen years, that is by no means normal. How came it about that in Florrie's case the adult sexual impulse took this particular form?

It was at one time supposed that fetichisms and erotic symbolisms in general, as well as homosexuality, are adequately accounted for when we have discovered some chance association in early life. That is part of the explanation, but it is not in itself adequate. Chance associations occur to everyone and for the most part without effect. Many children have been severely beaten; few have become adult auto-flagellants. We go deeper when we are able to see how much importance attaches to the early formation of a reservoir of emotion linked on to what is, or is capable of becoming, a sexual motive. In Florrie's sensitive shy nature as a child (she is herself convinced of the sexual character of shyness) whipping served to form exactly such a reservoir, admirably adapted for later use to sexual ends. Such considerations, however, are still abstract and general. When so definite an erotic symbolism as this of Florrie's becomes constituted we suspect the existence of individual peculiarities rooted in the organism and specially fitting it to become the seat of that symbolism. This was the case in the present instance. The pronounced development of the gluteal region and thighs has been pointed out. It became evident to Florrie in adolescence; some years later, at a time when her figure generally was not more than moderately plump, this development is plainly observable in her photographs, and at the time when she came under observation, while there was a somewhat increased general tendency to deposit fat, it was still most pronounced in the buttocks and thighs and hardly noticeable at all in the breasts.¹

In association with this anatomical preponderance of the gluteal region, we find a corresponding physiological deviation.

¹ Sadger (*Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. 5, 1913, p. 500) brings forward the case of a man who when a boy practised auto-flagellation. He had small genitals but large buttocks.

Many indications reveal that Florrie was to a certain extent sexually anesthetic in the region of the vulva, though this condition latterly tended to diminish. She was unable to obtain orgasm by ordinary masturbation, but, as we have seen, acute sexual excitation with orgasm was at once set up by stimulation of the anus.¹ It would thus seem probable that in some persons, of whom Florrie is an example, there is a tendency for the centers of sexual excitation to be shifted posteriorly, such persons possessing unusually developed buttocks and an anus with greater sexual sensibility than the normal sexual centers. Such a state of things must be regarded as constituting a predisposition only; it is not necessarily final or beyond the reach of training. But it is obvious that it constitutes a favorable and even natural basis for various sexual deviations.²

But we still have to account for Florrie's urolagnia. It is indeed now well recognized that a urinary interest is so natural in childhood that it comes easily within the normal sphere; that to some extent it may take the place later occupied by the purely erotic interest, to which at puberty it becomes normally subordinated, if it is not indeed completely suppressed or even extinguished. But why should we here find this impulse side by side, and even mutually interchangeable, with another and stronger impulse to which, on the surface, it has no relationship.

The answer seems to be that here also we must recognize a natural underlying relationship. Sadger, who has cast many rays of light on this obscure and little explored field of psychology, points out that urolagnia, "urethral eroticism" as he

¹ Anal masturbation is, of course, recognized, and is referred to by Hammond, Schrenck-Notzing, and others. See, e.g., Bloch, *Beiträge zur Ätiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis*, vol. i, pp. 224-7. I am not aware, however, that any connection has been recognized between anal masturbation and a pronounced gluteal development.

² In mental analysis there is sometimes a tendency, of which we need to be aware, to overlook the constitutional basis of psychic deviations. This tendency has sometimes been laid to the charge of Freud, but not altogether justly, for, in principle at all events, Freud fully recognizes these constitutional bases, and has stated (*Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*, vol. ii, p. 167) that in the production of the observed effect constitutional and accidental factors regularly work together and that the need for insistence on the latter is merely due to their frequent neglect.

calls it, or Undinism, as I am inclined on account of its wider connections to term it, is associated with "Gesässerotik," the eroticism of the buttocks, such as we find in Florrie. "In most cases of passive flagellation," he remarks, "there exists, besides the eroticism of the buttocks to be named in the first line, also a powerful urethral eroticism." He adds, quite truly, that there are many urethral eroticists who have no inclination for flagellation, but he seems to regard heightened urethral eroticism as the basis for a frequent combination of masochism with urolagnia. It is in the web of the associated eroticism of skin, mucous membrane, and muscle that these combinations, Sadger believes, are naturally formed. He attaches little importance to the nerve connections between the genito-urinary sphere and the gluteal sphere, though it scarcely seems to me that that factor can be entirely ignored.

In any case, and even though at this point the precise mechanism may not be clear, it must be recognized that we are in the presence of a natural manifestation. I should be content at present to point out that, in Florrie's case, as doubtless in many similar cases, we have an association in time of the two experiences, flagellatory and urinary, as is set forth in the narrative of her childhood. Moreover, there is the significant fact that, underlying both the gluteal and the vesical experiences, are the same emotions of anxiety and terror, of shyness and shocked modesty, the emotions which, as we know, are so well adapted for transformation, under favorable conditions, into sexual emotions. We see an important stage in this transformation on the vesical side, though not yet recognizably sexual, at the time when, years after the gluteal experience had taken on an unconsciously erotic character, Florrie discovered her favorite method of urinating erect and out of doors. She has well described how, under the irresistible vesical impulse, her acute emotions of anxiety, dread, and shyness were suddenly transformed into pleasure and the triumphant discovery of a new method of gaining vesical relief. No doubt as a child she had felt infantile interest and pleasure in this function, but it was at this time, at the age of twenty, that its special

adult transformation into urolagnia reached the first stage. There are, obviously, two distinct elements in the emotional state described, both capable of sexual transformations, anxiety and shyness. When in recent years Florrie has come to realize the significance of her own experiences, it is to the latter that she is most inclined to attach importance. "It has come to me gradually to suspect," she wrote, "from my own experience, that there must be a sexual element wherever this sensation of shame and shyness, reticence, the wish to conceal, is felt, even in religion. Everyone feels a sort of ashamed, try-to-hide, name-it-not, feeling about the excretory processes, just the same as about sex matters. If it is not sexual, what is it? The average person says, 'Why, of course, it is quite different. It's just disgust.' Yet people show little or no objection in showing other things, ulcers and loathsome tumors, that are far more disgusting, while as regards urination even for the most fastidious person there cannot really be any feeling of disgust. The bashfulness can only come from a hidden sexual feeling."

When we thus survey the course of Florrie's deviation we see that it was throughout inevitable and necessary. It was the outcome of her hereditary predisposition, of her physical and psychic constitution, of the special conditions to which in childhood she was subjected and under which she developed in adult life. The course was abnormal, yet, alike in its progress and its recession it was completely natural. It was a course affected by infantile arrests of development, and as occurs when such arrests are carried on into adult life to be reinforced by all the other more evolved aptitudes of that life, the infantile traits become immensely exaggerated, tending to take on that genuinely adult erotic character which in early life is not yet developed. Florrie's course of sexual development was affected by arrests, overwhelming to her in their magnitude, yet, however slowly, however imperfectly, nevertheless that development proceeded. Throughout the years she was under observation it passed from stage to stage, still abnormal yet continuously less abnormal, through the ascending spiral of natural

growth, until at the point where it passes out of sight it had become almost, if not altogether, what we call normal.

Here it is necessary to say something of the therapeutic conditions under which the desirable termination of Florrie's case was reached. I hesitate to use so positive a word as "therapeutic" in this connection. Certainly the method adopted was important, probably essential, to the result obtained. But to apply to it a term with such gross connotation as "treatment" may be misleading: that term may be in place elsewhere; it is dubiously in place in the psychic field we are here concerned with.

The whole method needed to ensure Florrie's progress lay in surrounding her with an atmosphere. That atmosphere was simply one of sympathetic comprehension. She was thus enabled to gain confidence in herself, to apply her own native intelligence to her own problems, and, not least, for the first time to express her experiences in words to another person. It became a process of mental analysis. But it was Florrie herself who mainly carried on that analysis, and therein its virtue lay. There was little attempt to present to her relationships which were fairly clear, but which she had not worked out for herself: she would not fail to reach them, and sometimes herself saw them first. She was surrounded by an atmosphere favorable for guidance, but no firm guiding hand was laid upon her, scarcely so much as the almost imperceptible touch of a finger. Thus Florrie's course towards normality, however devious, was as inevitable and as absolutely natural as her course towards abnormality.

Such a method would have aroused the scorn and even the indignation of the old-time physician. His impulse would be to react violently to all these unwholesome fancies and vicious habits, as he would consider them, and to thrust Florrie forcibly, with much severe admonition, into the path of rectitude. The upward spiral of her actual course under observation would have seemed to an undiscerning observer a disconcerting series of abnormal eruptions, and the final result of such "treatment," if possible at all—since a reserved and sensitive woman of

Florrie's temperament would have brought it to an end at the outset—must have been failure, if not disaster.

It is necessary to go further and to cast doubts even on more discerning methods when they are based on routine and on the subconscious belief that every case must conform to the same pattern. Such a method is pernicious and unlikely to lead to success even when it is the outcome of a genuine analytic investigation. Every human being presents, as every fine work of art presents, a continual slight novelty. There must always be a tendency to a pattern, but the pattern is never quite the same, and it is puerile to insist on trying to make it so. Each new person is a fresh revelation of Nature, to be watched, quietly and patiently, until its secret is manifested. We cannot rule Nature, as Bacon long ago declared, except by obeying her. And we cannot guide the struggling human being on his course unless we realize what that course is and possess the faith and the insight to discern the meaning of even its most unexpected deviations on the upward path. Even the leading question must often be regarded as almost an outrage, and still more the insistent demand on the patient to admit impulses which some theory demands. There are times when it is desirable to let fall a suggestion of what the observer divines, but it must be let fall easily, as it were casually, as lightly as a rose petal. It will not fail to hit the mark if the divination was sound, even though, at the moment, there is no response.

In the record of Florrie's history I have passed over an element of that transfer of emotion to the person of the investigator which Freud and others have termed "Uebertragung" or transference. It was easy to pass it over because it never came directly and interruptively into the course of the history. But it must not be passed over altogether because it may really be regarded as of vital importance and largely contributed to constitute that favorable atmosphere to which reference has been made. It was never obtrusive, demonstrative, or insistent, so that it was easy to disregard it, and treat it as non-existent. It subsided gradually, without comment, or the need for comment, step by step with Florrie's course towards normality. It

was traceable from the first interview. Florrie approached that interview with much nervous trepidation. She almost turned back at the end of the long journey which she had taken to obtain it. But when it was over she returned home with feelings of confidence and admiration—although nothing had been done to arouse such feelings—which affected, vaguely but influentially, the subsequent course of her development. The influence may be said to be two-fold. In the first place it was an essential condition to enable one of Florrie's shy and reserved nature to bring to the surface and carry on openly the whole course of the mental analysis. She had, it is true, in her first letter revealed herself almost as far as at that time she knew herself. That, however, would not have been enough, and if personal contact had proved inhibitory, even any further progress by correspondence would have been sterilized. The expanding influence on her reserved temperament of this emotional attitude was an essential condition for the progress of the analysis. In the second place, the emergence of a personal interest of this kind in the course of analysis helps to release the repressed and arrested normal emotions and to bring them out of the unconscious to the surface. In this way it can scarcely fail to exert a favorably guiding influence, because it tends to weaken, if not completely to replace, the phantasies of an obsession or a fetich by setting up a more normal object of attraction. Both of these influences appear to have acted favorably in Florrie's case, although the action may not have been consciously or definitely perceived. It is true that Freud regards transference as a more complex process, acted upon by that tendency, even found in normal persons, but in more pronounced degree in the neurotic, which Bleuler terms *ambivalence*, so that there is not only a "positive" but a "negative" transference. Along the first line are produced a confidence and sympathy altogether favorable to the patient's progress: along the second a hostile and resistant attitude which are unfavorable, if not fatal, to any beneficial treatment.¹ Without

¹ S. Freud, "Zur Dynamik der Uebertragung," *Zentralblatt für Psycho-analyse*, vol. ii, p. 187.

seeking to dispute this doctrine, it must be said that such "negative" transference seems to be often an artificial product of analysis, an artefact. (Not always, for many subjects are inevitably hostile.) One is tempted, indeed, to ask whether an investigator who encounters "negative" transference might not be well advised to retire from the world for a time and to practise a little auto-psychoanalysis. The investigator, instinctively and unconsciously, however good his intentions may be, often forgets that it is his part to educate and develop; he falls into the attitude of combat; he unconsciously adopts the gesture of tilting against a foe, and so inevitably he arouses the corresponding impulse of hostility and resistance on the opposing side. It is a plausible fallacy to fall into. But in this field, to adopt the method of force, however subtly moralized, is to condemn oneself beforehand to defeat. It is not by our much doing that much is done, least of all by the exercise of force. "Strength and Hardness are the Companions of Death: Tenderness and Suppleness are the Companions of Life." The wise Sydenham, when asked what books he would advise a physician to read, replied profoundly "Don Quixote." And the therapist of the soul would be well advised to make his bedside companion one of the oldest of books which is also one of the deepest, the *Tao-Teh-King* of Lao-tze.

It would be easy to discuss the significance of Florrie's history in many other relationships—such as the fairly obvious emergence of what Jung would call the Father-Imago—but there would be no end of such discussion. If, as a great naturalist said, one could spend one's life in studying as much earth as one can cover with one hand, much more easily can one say the like of the complex human soul. But if all the things were to be written that could be written about even a single person we may sympathize with that Evangelist who in an outburst of extravagance supposed that "even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written." Since we have not world enough nor time, we must be content to make but a little exploration, and to count ourselves happy if we thereby achieve but a little good.

POSTSCRIPT.—Shortly after the point reached at the conclusion of the foregoing history, Florrie disappeared from sight and nothing whatever was heard of her. After a period of some years I began to work the history into a coherent and orderly narrative. This was published, almost exactly as it here stands, in the *Psycho-analytic Review*, Vol. VI, 1919. A little later I heard from Florrie again, met her, and have continued in occasional touch with her since. She has read her own History, and considers that it is correct to an extraordinary degree; there is nothing in it that she would wish to see changed. At a period shortly after the termination of the history her husband had died and a year later she had married again; her second husband, like the first, was a man of good position, elderly, and a widower, but her life with him was happy and she looks back on this period with much satisfaction. It was, however, terminated before long by her husband's death. Lately she has married a third time; but this third marriage has not turned out so well; the man, as she described him to me before marriage, seemed of high character as well as of intellectual attainments; but immediately after marriage she discovered him to be eccentric, hypochondriacal, and morbidly introspective. This led to dissensions of feeling from the outset and within a few months to a separation which each partner charges the other with initiating. Hence has arisen for Florrie much worry, anxiety, and legal complication, still unsettled, which might well have had a disturbing influence on her mind. But it is important to state that so far, more than ten years after the history ends, Florrie has had no recurrence of the obsessions which once possessed and tortured her. She admits that normal ideals have no strong attractions for her, and probably never will have, and she still takes a mild interest in the subjects of the obsessions, but they have no more any power to absorb or disturb her. She is now truly the staid and solid matron she seemed when she first came to me.

Lately a physician of repute, Dr. Wilhelm Stekel of Vienna, has published (with my consent), and commented, a full summary of the history of Florrie (*Sadismus und Masochismus*, 1925, pp. 200-34). As Dr. Stekel is a psychoanalyst of much experience, intuition, and practical therapeutic success, though not always approved by fellow practitioners of other schools, it seems to me worth while to go over his version of the case and to deal with his chief criticisms. I may say at the outset that his attitude towards my exposition and interpretation is mainly appreciative and largely of approval, especially in his chief conclusion that, as he is kindly pleased to put it (p. 231), no other case demonstrates so well the connection between masochism and infantilism. But when we come to details it seems to me,

on the one hand, that Dr. Stekel is inclined to emphasize and to exaggerate points which I had made clear but attach less importance to, or less permanent significance, and that, on the other hand, he seeks to find points which the history as it stands does not contain, and which, from my own standpoint, there is no occasion to seek.

Among the former I note the "sadism" of Florrie's father. It is certainly impossible to over-rate the importance of her father's excessive physical punishments on Florrie; they constituted a most decisive influence in her sexual life; they fixed her prolonged infantile psychic state; they largely determined the character and attitude of her unconscious and conscious masculine ideal in adult life. But it seems unnecessary to call the father a sadist; it is quite possible that he had a latent sadistic disposition but his chastisement of his child, even though excessive, merely illustrates the foolish old-fashioned notion, founded on the Bible, of the dangers of sparing the rod in education. This is also Florrie's own opinion and she thinks that her father may have worked himself up into a rage out of a sense of duty; he was not sadistic and was fond of animals. Similarly, the castration-complex, with its "penis-envy," has its significance in Florrie's childhood, as a phase of her development. But that significance is exaggerated when it is prolonged beyond childhood into a supposed desire to be a man, and becomes the evidence of homosexuality. Dr. Stekel is always apt to see the traces of homosexuality, and in Florrie's case he finds evidence in her adoption of the erect attitude for urination ("there could be no more beautiful example of Adler's 'Masculine protest' "). It is undoubtedly true that this habit is sometimes cultivated by feminine inverts out of a pleasurable imitation of the male; that was long ago known to Krafft-Ebing and was not overlooked by me. But the habit is also quite common among women from other motives, out of doors especially with the object of avoiding detection, being in this way practised by women of the people all over Europe. It is also often regarded by women, and perhaps quite naturally, as in itself pleasurable. In Florrie's case there is not (and she herself entirely agrees) the slightest ground to connect it with any homosexual impulse.

Other influences on Florrie's life for which there is no evidence, Dr. Stekel considers must have been there. He thus believes that Florrie had much more knowledge of sex matters in childhood than she acknowledges. It was "suppressed." This supposition I altogether reject. Carefully guarded little girls in England of the well-to-do class are very commonly in complete ignorance of sexual matters, as indeed they often are also in France and other countries. Florrie was specially well guarded, "surrounded by nurses and

governesses," and not allowed much freedom even with her own young brothers. Dr. Stekel believes that Florrie was brought up freely in the country and must have observed the coupling of animals. Florrie assures me she made no such observation of animals. She lived largely in town, and occasional observation of animals, even in the country, has little or no sexual significance for uninstructed children who do not live on farms. Dr. Stekel further assumes that Florrie must have had sexual play with her brothers in childhood; I do not regard the assumption as necessary or even probable, while it is quite opposed to the evidence, for Florrie states definitely that there was no such play. He also assumes (and quite wrongly) that there must have been cruelty towards animals, a sadistic impulse being required to complement the masochistic impulses. It is quite true that the two impulses tend to be connected (and Dr. Stekel observes that I was one of the first to assert this connection) but it does not invariably happen that a sadist shows clearly marked masochist impulses or a masochist pronounced sadism; the connection of the two impulses is quite sufficiently established when each of the partners in a sado-masochistic relationship sympathizes with the attitude of the other partner. Then Dr. Stekel thinks that there is more to be discovered concerning Florrie's mother; he believes (on familiar Freudian lines) that Florrie loved her father and that that love involved hate for her mother; but while that is a result which is liable to follow it does not necessarily always follow; as a matter of fact Florrie saw little of either father or mother who went much into society and were aloof from the children, loving them in their own way, though not really caring for children and leaving them to the care of a governess and two nurses. Dr. Stekel is mistaken in thinking that Florrie's statement that she would not have accepted a whipping from her mother meant that she hated her mother; it meant simply that, the whipping being unconsciously felt as a sexual manifestation, it could only be tolerated when exercised by a man. Florrie was living close to her mother and in almost daily association with her at the time when she came to me; this had gone on ever since she was 20 (when the father died); they had become friends ("good pals," Florrie says) rather than mother and daughter. Dr. Stekel believes, once more, that Florrie probably had rectal enemas administered to her as a child, and he would thus explain the erogenic sensibility of the anus. This explanation I would not regard as necessary, even if I were ignorant of the facts. The erogenic properties of the anus were only discovered accidentally by Florrie when near the age of forty, and it would be absurd to assume that stimulation by enemas thirty years earlier is required to account for that discovery. The anus is one of many regions in

the body which are liable to develop erogenic properties when stimulated at favorable stages of sexual excitement. In childhood rectal enemas may be administered without the anus ever developing into an erogenic center. Florrie never had any rectal enemas. There is no reason whatever to suppose that such excitability can only exist when there has been special stimulation in infancy or childhood. It seems at least equally probable that Florrie's erogenic zone in the anus, together with her large gluteal development, served as part of the congenital predisposition to the special form of sexual deviation which she manifested. Dr. Stekel's opinion on this matter is due to his general and constantly evident belief, shared by many psycho-analysts, that psycho-genetic factors—due to environmental influence—are all-powerful, that predisposition may be disregarded and heredity has practically no existence. That is a position which I regard as today altogether antiquated and untenable. The influence of environment is powerful; but, as all biologists agree, the influence of heredity is even more powerful. Each is inadequate to affect the whole psychic life in any lasting degree unless aided by the other. It is the coincidence of the two working together which is decisive.

A defect in the history of Florrie for Dr. Stekel is that no attempt was made to analyze her dreams. He has himself always devoted special attention to the interpretation of dreams, and he seeks to make up for my failure. "I would like," he remarks, "to make some comments on the dreams. Remarkable is the opposition between ideal places and the kitchen, between the attraction upwards and the attraction downwards. She leaves the church, she leaves the picture gallery, and descends to the kitchen, to common people. We see plainly that she strongly disapproves of the cook's doings. (A sharp moral disapproval of her perversity.) The word 'cook' is in English bisexual and may indicate either a male or a female. It is clear, however, that the masculine principle is indicated by the erect urination. Reproach is already indicated in the church by the disapproving gaze of the congregation. The religious significance of the dream is transparent and symbolized by the church, the pictures, the sound of the bells, and the dream material (study of the Madonna). The father's form in the dream is concealed. He is the man who will enter the empty room of her heart, he is the spirit she calls by the bell. The librarians may be her brothers (*frater* = monk = brother), but it is also possible that we are concerned with a holy book, the Bible. The longing for a man to fill her empty room is plain. First appears a foreign guide (the physician and analyst?), then another man. Death-wishes against her husband are clear (black satin waistcoats). 'Satin' is perhaps a play on 'Satan.'

There is plainly a struggle between ascetic tendencies (church—cloister) and the pleasures of life, and finally the flight into infantilism. The picture gallery is the museum of her soul. She will not look at the pictures. She will remain blind (dark kitchen) and recognize nothing. The vesical impulse is a symbol of the sexual impulse. She can control herself but must suddenly give way and urinate. Two tendencies struggle in her soul: the Madonna and the prostitute (cook). It is sweet to give way to the longing. It is plain that she wishes to escape from the labyrinth of her soul and cannot find the way. She desires to conquer the ascetic tendency (church). She uses the symbolism, customary with her, of urination, to express the conflict in her life. The man who will free her is approaching, she hears his steps, but she flees at the last moment from the fulfillment of her wish. The new book, that she ought to read, is the book of her life. Very beautifully is the occurrence of the orgasm represented as a bell which echoes throughout her body, especially below (cellar). It is plain also that whipping by the father for her signifies coitus. The emotion of terror is the same."

With regard to the second dream Dr. Stekel writes: "This highly interesting dream is a dream of warning and healing, and shows a plain mystical tendency. The church represents the religious and ethical disturbance from which she wishes to be freed. She is then continually reminded that she is a married woman who has vowed eternal fidelity to her husband. Her perversions are indicated as infantilisms. She has no justification (cannot obtain a ticket). She is always met by her husband, who might be dangerous to her. The billiard room is the room haunted by men with erected penis (billiard cues) and testicles (balls). I recall that she had used an india rubber ball in masturbation. Her thoughts go to her own bedroom and her impotent husband. His sexual nature is a cemetery ('cold, deserted, *campo santo* sort of place.') Marriage is like a prison, and she longs for freedom. She finds herself in the street of life and her husband behind her. The dog is a symbol of her animal passion. The pony has the same significance, perhaps chosen because of its association with a riding whip. The pony shrivelled up (like the penis of her husband when he approached her). Her whipping ideas also shrivel up. Her husband will have nothing to do with animal passions. She gives up adulterous thoughts and returns to the church. Her perversion is by the rickety child's chair indicated as infantilism. The woman with the red hat symbolizes women who enjoy life. She is reminded of the 'tripper' type. But 'trip' also means a spring aside, and also stumbling; she is reminded of women who stumble and 'fall,' the ground gives way under Florrie's feet; only a wanton woman could risk herself in such a

child's seat. She feels she is sinking, and is only outwardly preserving the appearance of a respectable woman. She wishes to know her future. What will she be: a true wife or a prostitute? America is here the land of freedom. Her mother is the image of virtue, also the symbol of her womb (or would she have suspected her mother?). Now she meets N. who shows himself a blackmailer. The dream is the type of a dream of warning. She must overcome her wishes to be whipped. They shrivel as the pony shrivelled. She will not again be entangled in such dangerous situations; she realizes she has been mad. N. who was her ideal, has become a shabby person. She had over-estimated him, and she tries to free herself by depreciating him. She pictures the horrors of a blackmailing scene. N. wears a bowler, that is he has an erected penis. Bowler also indicates a connection with cricket. The full bladder seems to have nothing to do with the dream. It can merely have released the infantile fantasies, upon which as a reaction comes the warning of the moral ego. In a wider determination there is significance; the row of cherry stones signify threads of semen, the red cap the glans penis, the narrow canal the vagina, swimming is coitus, and even the three-cornered hat is a known phallic symbol. Florrie regrets that she is not a man. The conflict is concerned with whether men enjoy greater sexual freedom than women. To the glance into the future corresponds a glance at the past, culminating in the wish: Oh, if I had been born a boy! As a woman she is directed to the penis of her husband which, as we know, showed a lamentable tendency to shrivel."

In interpretation of the third dream, Dr. Stekel says: "In this dream the mother appears as a revenging and uncanny figure. It is not difficult to find castration motives here. In the finger which remains attached to the neck (transposition from below to above) is the lacking phallus, now completed or given back by the mother. We might agree with the Freudians who in such a dream see a reproach by the daughter to the mother for castrating her at birth. The terror would also be the terror of castration. It is much easier to believe in a terror of retribution. She has presumably wished for her mother's death, in order to possess her father alone. But her father has died first. The mother must follow him. The father warns the mother not to come out, it is too wet, that is, streams of tears would flow. The dream shows Florrie strongly homosexual, fixed on her mother. Masturbation (finger at the neck!) must have brought her thoughts to her mother. The first impressions of nursing in childhood (the mother's hands) seem to live in Florrie: she wished to be a man and possess the mother. She identified herself with the whipping man. ('If I cannot have a penis I will

procure a whip and show my mother who is master!') The examination by the woman doctor arouses association with the first examination by the mother. She is more man than woman. A woman must be taken by force and overpowered. She turns her back as the side on which she can be viewed as a man. Also the desire to be urinated on may recall the time of infancy when she had wetted her mother. This homosexual tendency is extraordinarily deeply concealed. But here a curtain falls and the mother recognizes what she signifies to her daughter. Longing is changed to horror and disgust. In this dream she lets the mother carry out the aggression (pleasure without guilt). But she meets her mother in that she is half naked. Interesting also is the gliding approach of the mother. We observe that the men are heard approaching, so also the dog, but the lady approaches silently, and enters the room without warning. The father is out in the rain (he is somehow connected with water fantasies), the mother wears a long train to her dress (phallic symbol). Her ideal would be a woman with a penis. But the mother has no penis. Her finger remains attached to the neck. The blue flame on the bed shows that in Florrie's heart glimmers a homosexual passion which had originally attracted her to women. She seems to have courted her mother's love in vain. Her mother has repulsed her. In the dream she revenges herself, and it is she who repulses her mother and is afraid of her. We understand the longing to urinate on the mother (Mother Earth!) as a symbolic substitute: she wishes to be a man and to fertilize the mother. Dimly also we guess that Florrie suspects her mother, and that the two poles, 'Prostitute and Madonna,' are projected on her mother. The woman with the red hat, the going of her mother to America, where she assumes a masculine position, speak for this assumption. For this depreciation the mother takes revenge. Perhaps original blows by the mother count. The father finds her unfaithful and strikes her. Here arises doubt about her origin. Am I the child of my father? She has desecrated the highest (cathedral) and deserves to be chastized for it."

I do not feel able to discuss these dream interpretations, which to Florrie herself seem often "fantastic." I will only remark that, largely, they seem to me speculative, and also unnecessary, while at some points they are entirely opposed to my reading of Florrie's character, being based on conventional psycho-analytic lines which do not correspond to Florrie's special disposition. This does not mean that I would belittle the skill of the psycho-analysts in deciphering dreams. Those who are inclined to laugh at psycho-analytic dream-interpretation should remember the endless ability of the so-called "Baconians" to find cyphers in Shakespeare. Speaking

generally, however, and without special reference to dreams, I would like to say that it is very hazardous for a psycho-analyst, however skillful and experienced, to put forth speculations concerning a subject he has never seen which over-ride the conclusions of the original reporter, who, however inferior he may be in skill and experience, has had opportunities of minutely studying the peculiarities of that subject. Dr. Stekel regrets that Florrie was never regularly psycho-analyzed. It is true that there was no psycho-analysis in any recognized technical sense, but it is obvious that there was nevertheless a slow and careful process of analysis during which all the elements of the case likely to have significance seem to have floated gradually up to the surface. "The end crowns all," and it is satisfactory that Dr. Stekel, while thus freely criticizing, in the main agrees with the reported statement of the case and commends the final outcome. "Remarkable," he says (p. 233), "is the brilliant therapeutic result, which was achieved in an atypical way, deviating from strict analysis. It confirms my opinion that in analysis there are really no rules. In this case the method adopted was perhaps the only possible method." I must add in qualification of this generous attribution of "brilliant therapeutic result" that I hope I have made clear that the result obtained must not be held to be the establishment of full ordinary "normality." Florrie's disposition arose, as I have sought to show, on the basis of her congenital psycho-physical organization; it developed normally on that basis, and even if the environmental conditions had been more favorable than they were her constitution would always have colored her temperament as life actually worked out. Florrie is not, and never will be, completely what we are pleased to term "normal." She is reconciled to "normal" sex relationships, but they do not afford her any intense gratification. Her disposition, and the ideals based on that disposition, remain essentially what they always have been. *But now she understands.* She is no longer obsessed and tortured. She is content and at peace. The therapeutic result—here as always in this field—does not lie in the personality being forced into a rigid alien mold, for that would not be really "normal" for it, however much so on the average. It lies in enabling the subject to see himself or herself understandingly, not in being artificially changed but in being rightly harmonized.

IV.

THE MENSTRUAL CURVE OF SEXUAL IMPULSE.

There is no familiar physiological process of equal importance which has taken so long to explain, or aroused such difference of opinion, as menstruation. It may doubtless be said that we are at last approaching a stage of agreement as to the essential nature of the process. Yet as regards its periodicity we are still so much in the dark that we even refrain from putting forward hypotheses.

Why does menstruation tend to fall into a cycle which approximates to that of the moon? Darwin suggested that, early in zoological evolution, an oceanic tidal element was a potent condition of life, imprinting a rhythmic character on the organisms submitted to it. Obviously, however, such a condition, even if we can agree that the ancestors of Man experienced it, is too remote to be invoked as the cause of so comparatively recent an acquirement as the menstrual cycle. It has therefore been suggested, that some condition in the general or sexual life of the immediate ancestors of Man was intimately associated with the lunar cycle.¹

In the absence of any precise and definitely known force acting among the early Primates to produce a menstrual cycle of lunar length various attempts have been made to theorize

¹Thus, in "The Phenomena of Sexual Periodicity" in the first volume of these *Studies*, I wrote: "Bearing in mind the influence exerted on both the habits and the emotions even of animals by the brightness of moonlight nights, it is perhaps not extravagant to suppose that, in organisms already ancestrally predisposed to the influence of rhythm in general and of cosmic rhythm in particular, the periodically recurring full moon, not merely by its stimulation of the nervous system, but possibly by the special opportunities which it gave for the exercise of the sexual functions, served to impart a lunar rhythm on menstruation." And I referred not only to the considerations which indicate a greater predominance of lunar deities in early culture, but also to the fact that festivals of distinctly erotic character still take place at full moon in some regions both of Australia and Africa.

on the matter. As an example I may summarize an effect by Adolf Gerson to reconstruct the conditions under which the cycle developed.¹

The influence of the sun on life is so predominant² that it is difficult in general to trace any lunar influence. Gerson believes, however, that at the period of the evolution of man conditions were present which favored such an influence. He admits that it is not possible, in the absence of any direct evidence, to prove the existence of these conditions, but believes it is possible to show their probability.

Early man and the stock out of which he grew were entirely defenceless against beasts of prey. They lived in trees or, as Gerson believes, in caves, and when it became necessary to go further afield in search of food they had to adopt many precautions. In temperate zones, where beasts of prey prowl by day, they could be avoided by moving abroad at night. (In tropical zones the heat compels all animals to hunt at night, and therefore Gerson considers it improbable that Man evolved in the tropics.) But it was only during light moonlight nights that it was profitable to go abroad at night. In this way early man became accustomed to wander at full moon, and many hordes may have acquired the habit of regularly wandering at this time. They may thus have learnt to surprise and slay the larger animals, and excursions at full moon became strengthened by association with the taste for flesh. This practice has died out because savages today are better armed for slaying animals and better acquainted with the arts of hunting, while wild animals are no longer so numerous, so fierce, or so large as in former days. Man has abandoned these nightly excursions, while wild animals themselves are now compelled to practise them from fear of man.

¹ Adolf Gerson, "Die Menstruation, ihre Entstehung und Bedeutung," *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, April, May, June, 1920. This author had already published various suggestive studies on the physiology and psychology of sexual phenomena.

² The traces of a yearly cycle in reproduction, even in man, have long been recognized. See, for instance, Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*, 2d ed., Chap. II, "A Human Pairing Season in Primitive Times."

This wandering at full moon was of sexual significance because early man was compelled to limit sexual intercourse to such excursions. Gerson assumes that at this period the male was chiefly affected by sexual desire; the female was cold and only gradually acquired such desire, this process of acquisition being indeed even still in progress. Such coldness, Gerson believes, was necessary to ensure maternal devotion. (He fails to consider that a similar result might be obtained by the periodicity of sexual desire which, in fact, we commonly observe in female animals.) Coupling was a kind of combat and the peace required for the breeding of the young was secured by the limitation of male sexual desire within periodical limits. But the gradual extension of these periods of sexual activity might have destroyed the race, through combats with the female and with male rivals, if sexual intercourse between males and females of the same horde had not been brought to an end.

Gerson endeavors to show how this may have happened. When a horde wandered by moonlight into a strange and fruitful region it would be liable to encounter another horde. A combat would ensue and the victorious horde, having put to flight or slain the opposing horde, would take possession of, and have intercourse with, its women. It would thus be easy for them to leave their own women undisturbed. The members of a horde which followed this practice would be enabled to live among themselves in comfort and peace, avoiding the quarrels which sexual desire and rivalry produce. The horde which failed to follow this practice would be enfeebled by inner dissensions.

So also it would come about that the act of sexual intercourse was regarded as a hostile act. The male who thus treated the female of another horde would feel that he had done dishonor to her, he would not definitely know why because the fact that intercourse led to pregnancy had not yet been discovered, but his feeling would be right because he had compelled a hostile horde to adopt his child. The idea would, however, be extended to the women of his own horde; to have

intercourse with them would dishonor them and be a hostile act. In this way arose the instinct against incest.

There would, however, be friendly as well as hostile hordes. These would exchange useful objects and such exchange would extend to the women. In this way a man would form a union with a woman of another horde, who, however, remained with her own horde, so long as the two hordes were neighbors, and if later they met again and recognized each other by their tattoo marks and other signs the old bond would be renewed. This bond extending over more than a single sexual season would be the primitive form of human marriage.

It is in this way, Gerson believes, that we obtain a satisfactory explanation of menstrual periodicity. The horde wandered only at full moon; the women of other hordes could only be met at full moon, and if intercourse was confined to the women of other hordes, sexual intercourse also would necessarily be confined to the recurring periods of full moon. If originally the rutting period of the male had only occurred in spring or other seasonal period of the year it would now tend to recur at monthly periods. Obviously, also, it would be to the advantage of human procreation if the female also at the time of monthly intercourse became capable of impregnation, for otherwise, if she failed to find a mate in the spring when the other higher animals usually mate, she would remain unimpregnated throughout the year. The horde whose females acquired this monthly susceptibility to impregnation would be favored in the struggle for existence over those whose females had failed to acquire it. By selection and heredity were produced females whose ovulation, sexual desire, and menstruation corresponded to the periodicity of the males and followed the phases of the moon.

There are various considerations, Gerson points out, which favor this theoretical explanation of menstrual periodicity. Savage peoples still often hold their dancing festivals at the full moon; and the dances still often present a pantomimic representation of the conditions, now entirely passed away, which prevailed when the full moon was really the

proper and only period for sacrificing at once to Ares and to Aphrodite. They are true survivals, and Gerson here seems on fairly safe ground.¹ The same can scarcely be said of his attempt to argue that the primitive goddess was at once not only a goddess of the moon and of hunting (primitively associated with the full moon), but also, like Artemis, sexually cold, thus recalling the primitive coldness of woman; we know too little of the primitive goddess we vaguely discern to speak so definitely, and the original Artemis was far from chaste.²

Along the same lines Gerson seeks to explain the frequent discomfort, painfulness, and mental depression of the menstrual period. It is impossible, he argues, to account adequately for these manifestations on physiological or psychological grounds. He neglects to bring forward evidence of their actual occurrence under conditions of savage life. There is nothing in the process of menstruation which need cause symptoms of pain, and slight loss of blood is normally a cause of relief and excitement rather than of depression. But they become intelligible, he argues, if we can regard them as the inherited outcome of the conditions under which menstruation arose. "Consider," says Gerson, "the nature of the impressions which the primitive woman received during sexual intercourse. They were frightening, horrible, in the highest degree painful. Her marriage bed was a bloody heath and the dead bodies of her friends and brothers lay around. Here she was subjected to the unrestrained violence of the male which still at times re-emerges as sadism or sexual pleasure in the sight of combat, blood, and corpses." The pains of menstruation arose in the same way as the pains and hallucinations of hysteria, that is, as the after-results of real feelings, when

¹ Malinowski (*Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1927, p. 206) has, with special reference to New Guinea, emphasized the importance of moonlight among primitive peoples in periodically heightening social life, so that all festivities reach their climax at full moon.

² Briffault in his brilliant and learned work, *The Mothers* (vol. ii, Ch. XX) has discussed lunar deities in relation to women, and emphasized the primitive connection between pregnancy and the moon.

revived by appropriate associations, and it makes no difference that these associations are transmitted by heredity. Menstrual pains are really hysterical pains, not founded in the nature of menstruation but a by-product, which may not occur at all, and they can be removed by hypnotic treatment. This, Gerson believes, shows that physiology has nothing to do with them and that the biological explanation is sound.

Gerson would go further and seeks to show that the menstrual loss of blood was a necessary incident in the process he describes. It is to be regarded, he believes, as primitively a discharge for the relief and recuperation of the over-excited organism in these monthly orgies, gradually acquired as an organic property and transmitted so as to become fixed even when there was no intercourse and no ill-treatment. Although it takes place through the sexual organs it is really connected with excitement in the higher nervous centres. It depends on a vasomotor reflex which arose in the primitive sexual combats at full moon. The same psychogenous hemorrhages, he remarks, were often caused in women by shock during the Great War.

Why has sexual desire, confined to a rutting season among many lower animals, become constant in the human male? Because, Gerson answers, it has produced a valuable conserving influence on the species. It has bound man and woman more closely together in marriage, impelling the husband to court the wife from day to day. It has given occasion to the wife to stay with her husband and remain true to him, even when not needing him to protect and nourish her. Perpetual desire imparted to marriages which were formed chiefly or solely on economic grounds an increased stability and a new nobility. It was the guarantee of a happy family life. Perpetual desire and monogamy conditioned each other. This consideration, one notes, however valid, does not necessarily confirm Gerson's theory.

It may be objected, Gerson adds, that we witness today an almost religious horror of intercourse during menstruation. He thinks that this had not arisen in primitive times

and that there was no occasion for it to arise. The man would scarcely so much as be aware of the presence of menstruation, which also, as among many primitive races today, would be scanty and not constant. It was not until much later times, when wives were acquired by favor or by purchase, that the condition arose for this state to be conspicuous.

Under such conditions combat and struggle, which Gerson regards as the inevitable accompaniments of intercourse in the primitive stage, ceased to be agreeable to the husband. They had, however, become fixed by heredity to the menstrual period. It was at menstruation that woman, with an organism reminiscent of the orgies of the old festivities of the full moon, was most inclined to be quarrelsome and irritable, as indeed, Gerson adds, she often is even today. So the husband preferred for intercourse the time immediately before and after the period, when he observed that his wife was apt to be in a much more peaceful and complacent mood. In this way a prejudice against intercourse in the menstrual period itself became deep-rooted. Yet intercourse, at all events among the lower races, is practised as near as possible to the period.¹ That spring of blood, Gerson concludes, flowing from women, is the source of a great part of the blessings of modern civilization.

I do not bring forward Gerson's theory to suggest that it should be accepted. There are points in his arguments throughout at which criticism may be offered. What one notes, first of all, is the fact that he never allows for the existence of a rudimentary menstrual cycle among even many of the monkeys and lower apes. It is not only found among the anthropoid apes, which are closely allied to Man but has now been studied among various monkeys who show an ap-

¹ In proof of this, Gerson refers to the evidence brought forward by Siegel to show that the number of boys born greatly prevails over that of girls when conception takes place near menstruation, and that at other periods girls prevail. Among lower races to-day boys seem to prevail over girls at birth, Gerson states, even more than among the higher races, which might indicate that they are more apt to have intercourse near menstruation.

proximate lunar periodicity in menstruation. We must, therefore, push the origin of this phenomenon further back than Gerson supposes, for he throughout regards it as arising in early Man, the *Urmensch*; an acceptably satisfying hypothesis can only be sought in a much more primitive stock, long before the *Urmensch* had branched off in Pliocene times.

Then again, Gerson regards it as an essential part of his conception that the primitive mode of intercourse, associated with the origin of menstrual periodicity, took the form of a brutal and inconsiderate attack by the male, without courtship, and indeed without on the part of the female any of that aptitude for sexual pleasure to which courtship must be addressed. But some form of courtship, some promise of pleasure to the female, is almost universal in the animal world. We should need to know why it was in abeyance during this hypothetical period in which the menstrual cycle had its origin before we could accept Gerson's view of that origin. Other difficulties will present themselves to the careful reader, involving, for instance, the theory of heredity assumed. Gerson's conception, however ingenious, fails to meet these difficulties.

The unsatisfactory nature of such attempts to explain menstruation by the circumstances of the early history of Man and the primates, throws us back on the possibility that we may be concerned with direct cosmic influences on life, manifesting themselves when the balance of the vital phenomena are sufficiently delicate and unstable to yield to such subtle influences.

It is an ancient belief that sea urchins in the Mediterranean are subject to lunar influence in their breeding season. Munro Fox, in a careful study of the matter, has found that this is not generally true. But his observations on the spot have shown that it is true of an echinoid—*Centrechinus* (*Diadema*) *setosus* at Suez. This sea urchin really spawns at full moon in the breeding season. He suggests that the old belief that related sea urchins on other shores of the Mediterranean similarly spawn at full moon was carried thither from

Egypt where it is actually true.¹ It is not easy to connect this lunar periodicity with tidal influences since the tidal range on these coasts is so minute, being only 58 centimeters between new moon and full.

Among the sea urchins we are far from Man, but Arrhenius in Sweden, in observations which date a number of years back though they have attracted little attention, has shown some grounds for the existence of a lunar influence on menstruation which he associates with the amount of electricity in the atmosphere.² Richter had shown in 1885 that the moon has an impeding influence on thunderstorms. This drew the attention of Arrhenius to the matter and he was led to conclude that there is a significant relation between the electricity in the air and the tropic lunar month of 27.3 days. With regard to variations in natality Arrhenius found a very marked double periodicity according to the tropic month, the first maximum falling on the 6th or 7th day, the second on the 25th or 24th day. So he expected a corresponding variation in menstruation and made an investigation in 6000 cases in the Stockholm Maternity Hospital, based on the last date of menstruation before pregnancy, and found a sharp minimum just before the southern lunistice (about the 17th day). The deep minimum in the air-electricity curve is on the 14th—15th day, so the menstrual minimum falls about a day later. Arrhenius also found a nearly 26 day curve (that of thunderstorms, aurora borealis, and perhaps also affecting air-electricity) as well as the tropic lunar curve, and thinks this may be connected with the sun. Arrhenius finds no ground for the old belief that menstruation is con-

¹ H. Munro Fox, "Lunar Periodicity in Living Organisms," *Science Progress*, Oct., 1922, and a later paper, "Lunar Periodicity in Reproduction," *Proc. Royal Soc. B.* vol. xcv, 1923. Munro Fox found no lunar influence in the rate of growth of fruits as tested by daily measurements of a small marrow.

² S. Arrhenius, "Die Einwirkung Kosmischer Einflüsse auf physiologische Verhältnisse," *Scandinavisches Archiv für Phys.*, Leipzig, Bd. iii, 1898. Mr. Munro Fox has called attention to this paper and kindly lent it to me.

nected with the synodic month of 29.5 days, and considers it highly probably that the menstrual month is associated with a co-operation of the two periods (27.3 days and 25.9 days). Hannover's figures for the average menstrual period in Denmark, 26.6 days, confirms this view in the opinion of Arrhenius. He also found that at St. Petersburg (Leningrad) in epilepsy, the 27.3 days period, and in a less degree the 25.9 days period affects the attacks, which tend to fall (as for menstruation) one day later.

It is worth while to note these various investigations, even although it must be acknowledged that the origin of the lunar, or so nearly lunar, periodicity of menstruation still demands a satisfactory solution. I am not concerned further with it, except to consider its psychological aspect—the menstrual curve of sexual feeling in women.

The manifestations of the sexual impulse in women have long constituted an obscure subject to investigate. On the one hand poets and satirists have declared for centuries that the evils of the world are largely due to the sexual lust of women; on the other hand moralists and even physicians have assured the world in the most solemn manner that normal and respectable women have no sexual feelings at all. It is unnecessary to say on which side the public opinion of women, even when they chanced to be physicians, was most likely to be found. Under such conditions, it was only an occasional man of genius, like Haller in the eighteenth century, who ventured to state the truth, which should have been obvious, that there was a tendency for menstruation in women to be associated with sexual desire.

Thirty years ago, when I was preparing my study of "The Phenomena of Sexual Periodicity," it was beginning to be widely recognized that sexual desire tends to be specially associated with menstruation, some authorities placing the heightening of desire immediately before, and others immediately after, the menstrual period. Krafft-Ebing, at that time the most prominent authority on the psychology of sex, placed it usually after the period, but he gave no exact figures.

Dr. Harry Campbell, who carried out an investigation among healthy women of the working class in London, by making enquiries of their husbands, found that in two-thirds of all cases there was increased desire just before, just after, or during the flow, and that the proportion of cases in which it was increased before to those in which it was increased after was as three to two. Campbell's indirect method of inquiry seemed to me unsatisfactory, and therefore I obtained direct information from a number of women of the educated class who were likely to furnish reliable answers. I came to the conclusion that "there can be no doubt whatever that immediately before and immediately after [the period of menstruation], very commonly at both times—this varying slightly in different women—there is usually a marked heightening of actual desire." I also found that it occurred more commonly than had usually been supposed during the period itself.¹ Subsequent inquiries have confirmed this result, and have also tended to indicate that the heightening of desire is more likely to be pronounced at the end of the period than just before its onset. This seems what one might have expected if the end of menstruation may be regarded as corresponding to the oestral period.²

I made no attempt to plot a menstrual curve of sexual desire in woman. There were no data for such a curve, for no woman had told me of any monthly climax of sexual feeling other than that around the menstrual period. I must confess that the question of such a curve had not even occurred to me. Such a failure may seem inexcusable. I had pointed out the

¹ I quote from the third edition (1910) of Vol. I of these *Studies*, p. 103.

² This main result is confirmed if we find that the greatest number of conceptions occurs immediately after menstruation. This was found to be so by Siegel, in Germany during the Great War, by observation on married soldiers who were only able to return home for two or three days at a time. Siegel found that the likelihood of fertilization increases from the beginning of menstruation, reaches its highest point six days later and remains at almost the same height until the twelfth or thirteenth day when it declines, reaching absolute sterility at the twenty-second day. I have not seen Siegel's paper, which is summarized by Carr-Saunders, *The Population Problem*, p. 488.

significant fact of *Mittelschmerz*, the name given to the occasional occurrence of a kind of minor or abortive menstruation in healthy women, usually appearing about the fourteenth day of the menstrual cycle and lasting two or three days. So that there is sometimes an intra-menstrual cycle, possibly indicating a tendency towards a future breaking up of the menstrual cycle into two. Fliess (in his book *Die Beziehungen zwischen Nase und weiblichen Geschlechtsorganen*) went so far as to assert that this phenomenon, which he called *Nebenmenstruation*, is "well known to most healthy women." Here was a point at which one should have sought for a secondary climax of sexual desire. But, for my own part, I failed to make the search.

At this stage enters Dr. Marie Stopes with an attempt, on the basis of new data, to construct a menstrual curve of sexual desire in women, such as Perry-Coste (and previously on slighter evidence Nelson) had sought to construct in the case of men.¹ Her attempt is the more interesting because it is brought forward in complete independence of the already established phenomena of *Mittelschmerz*, to which she makes no reference. Yet she places a climax of sexual desire precisely at the date of *Mittelschmerz*. The nature and extent of Dr. Stopes's data are not clearly stated, but her conclusion, illustrated by charts, is that there are two wave-crests in the menstrual cycle of sexual desire, one usually occurring during the three days before the actual onset of menstruation, the other during the three or four days around the fourteenth day after the onset of menstruation, and so beginning about a week after menstruation ceases. Dr. Stopes seems to regard the second climax as usually higher and more prolonged than the immediately pre-menstruation climax.

This attempt to establish a menstrual curve of sexual desire in women seemed to me to be a step in the right direction, and I resolved to test the reliability of the particular kind of

¹ Marie Carmichael Stopes, D.Sc., Ph.D., *Married Love*, Ch. IV. "The Fundamental Pulse." 1918. F. H. Perry-Coste (later Perrycoste), "Sexual Periodicity in Men," Appendix B. to vol. i of these *Studies*.

curve Dr. Stopes had found, though without any confidence that I should be able to confirm its existence. The first point was to decide on a satisfactory objective criterion of genuine organic sexual impulse, of a truly auto-erotic nature, so far as possible independent (it can never be entirely independent) of all those slight erotic stimuli by which in civilization men and women alike are constantly solicited. This was the more necessary since the method of merely general inquiry had in my hands already produced only negative results except as to the one climax around menstruation, while to ask a woman the leading question as to whether she feels a special tendency to sexual desire around the fourteenth day is obviously a fallacious method, because—even apart from the fact that few women have exercised a sufficient amount of precise self-observation to make their answers reliable—the influence of suggestion and auto-suggestion at once comes into play, and when the point is thus brought before her a woman may easily, in all good faith, find unreliable reasons in her own experience for accepting or rejecting the theory.

On consideration it seemed to me that there are two objective criteria, both of which may be used with considerable confidence in the attempt to find data for the construction of a menstrual curve of sexual desire in women: (1) The occurrence of erotic dreams, and (2) the occurrence of masturbation in the case of women who adopt that practice. Erotic dreams are an entirely normal and organically auto-erotic indication of sexual desire, largely independent of direct environmental influence, while the act of masturbation, it may be presumed, is not usually resorted to unless under the stress of an impulse sufficiently strong to be fairly considered organic. It was on the basis of one or other of these two classes of auto-erotic phenomena that the attempt to construct a menstrual cycle of sexual desire in man was based.

It so chanced that at the time when Dr. Stopes's book appeared a record of dreams was being kept for me by a married lady (Mrs. F.) for purposes of investigation. There was no idea of including the question of a menstrual curve of

the sexual impulse in such investigation, but the record lent itself admirably to an inquiry of the kind, and I have accordingly examined it to that end with the following result.

Mrs. F. is thirty-two years of age, physically and mentally normal, in good health, the mother of children, but separated from her husband, owing to war conditions, during the whole period of the investigation. This covered six months; it was not practicable to continue it longer, as the record occupied considerable time, and Mrs. F. is engaged in an arduous profession and desires to devote all her spare time to her children. Her full and sometimes fatiguing life prevents her from giving as much thought as might otherwise have been the case to sexual interests, while at times worry and anxiety have exerted a depressing effect on her vital energies. The menstrual flow lasts four days and is accompanied by only a minor degree of discomfort; the menstrual month oscillates a day or two on each side of twenty-six days, which is the average, though it so happens that during the seven periods that have been observed the average has never coincided with the actual length of any period.

For the purposes of this inquiry the erotic dreams only will be taken into consideration. It is possible that the dreams as a whole may follow a menstrual curve (as Nelson found); I am inclined to think they may; but to consider that question would unduly and unnecessarily complicate the question before us. We will only consider erotic dreams, and we have first to decide what constitutes an erotic dream. As I regard the matter, an erotic dream is one which by its psychic contents manifestly reveals an erotic situation, or else it is a dream which is accompanied by physical sexual excitation traceable on awaking.¹

It may be added that the latter are not a separate group, for all the dreams in this series which presented physical sexual accompaniments were psychically erotic, although not all the

¹ The data on which Perry-Coste worked were exclusively the physical accompaniments; he found remarkably few traces of the dreams themselves.

psychically erotic dreams had corresponding physical accompaniments to a noticeable extent. I have not adopted the Freudian criterion according to which a dream may be latently erotic while not manifestly so. I do not dispute that this is often possible and sometimes likely, but it opens the door to many doubts and uncertainties, while at the same time diminishing the soundness of the foundation we are working on, for there can at least be no doubt that all the most definitely erotic dreams in the series have been included in my enumeration. Thus I do not include two dreams of flying, which Freud would regard as the expression of a sexual wish; their affective tone was pleasant, but the subject is emphatic that these pleasurable feelings were quite distinct from sexual feeling.

The total number of erotic dreams, as thus ascertained, from the end of March to the end of September, was thirty-two, of which thirteen left traces of physical excitation noticeable on awakening. Their summated daily occurrence in the menstrual cycle, was as follows:

1, 4, 1, 1, 2, 1, 1, 0, 1, 4, 4, 2, 1, 1, 1, 1, 0, 2, 0, 1, 1, 1, 1, 0, 0, 0. If we convert these figures into two-day periods in order to smooth the curve we reach the result: 5, 2, 3, 1, 5, 6, 2, 2, 2, 1, 2, 1, 0. Then the curve becomes unmistakably clear; we see a first climax within the time of menstruation, followed by a dip, and succeeded on the tenth to twelfth days by a second, higher and wider climax, followed by a correspondingly still lower and more prolonged dip which finally ends in zero during the days preceding the onset of the next menstrual flow. There can be no question whatever concerning the reality and the harmonious formation of this curve. It becomes still more emphatically clear if we carry further the process of smoothing by arranging the figures in four-day periods:

7, 4, 11, 4, 3, 3, 0.

If the dream test is reliable Mrs. F. possesses a definite auto-erotic menstrual curve.

It is obvious that the period covered by this curve is hardly long enough to encourage complete confidence in the re-

sult. A little later, therefore, Mrs. F. was persuaded to renew the observations for a longer period, beginning with 1st of November, and without noting or considering whether they formed any kind of curve. The conditions, both internal and external, had already considerably changed, and were no longer so favorable. Mrs. F. had a serious attack of influenza just when the observations were to begin and remained in weak health for nearly a month afterwards. No erotic dreams, in consequence, occurred till 4th of December. She was, however, during this second period, on the whole much more cheerful and much more vigorous than during the first period of observation. But, on the other hand, she was also working much harder, and so, probably, less observant of her dreams, which, also, were more often replaced by day-dreams. These various changes of circumstance could not fail to affect the curve. But the curve, though modified, and to some extent displaced, still remains, though it cannot be superimposed on the earlier curve. We have always to remember that, as has been shown by Mr. Perry-Coste, physiological curves taken during a long period of years, precisely because they are those of living and growing persons, are in process of constant slow modification. To attempt therefore to make a single curve out of the separate curves of different years or different seasons introduces confusion. Yet an intelligible curve still remains.

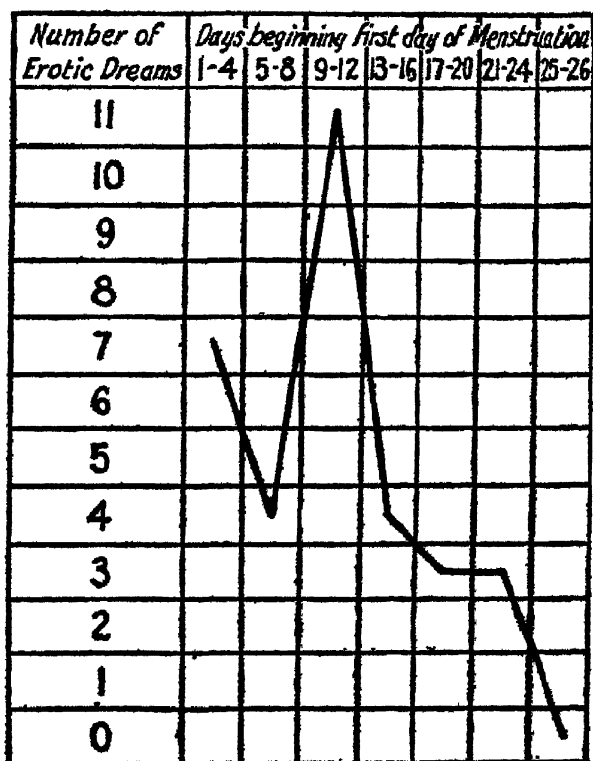
This second series of observations was continued till the end of November in the following year, and when we have eliminated the early month effaced by influenza, it covers thirteen menstrual months. There were 54 erotic dreams recorded during this period, including several that were doubtful but probable, or interrupted by awaking, and excluding others that were more doubtful. In five of these 54 dreams orgasm occurred. From the first day of the menstrual month they were distributed as follows:

0, 2, 0, 0, 2, 4, 0, 2, 2, 2, 0, 3, 4, 4, 2, 2, 5, 4, 1, 2, 3, 2, 3, 2, 2, 1.

Summated in two-day periods we find:

2, 0, 6, 2, 4, 3, 8, 4, 9, 3, 5, 5, 3.

CHART I.



Considering the extent of the various disturbing influences this curve comes out quite harmoniously, and may even be said to be in some respects more likely to be normal than the earlier curve, although both the climaxes are concomitantly moved to the right, that is to say both are delayed. The first climax occurs at the end instead of the beginning of menstruation, and the second and main climax also occurs later, on the fourteenth to the eighteenth days. When we compare these two results, even in their difference, it is not easy to doubt the reality of the curve revealed.

There remains to test the second criterion, constituted by acts of masturbation. For this purpose I propose to use data which have been in my hands for some years, but which I have not hitherto worked out. They concern a married lady, whom we will call Mrs. A., not personally known to me, but with whom I was in touch through a medical friend¹ of hers and mine, who was permitted to copy certain entries in her diary to send me. I am also acquainted with her sexual history generally.

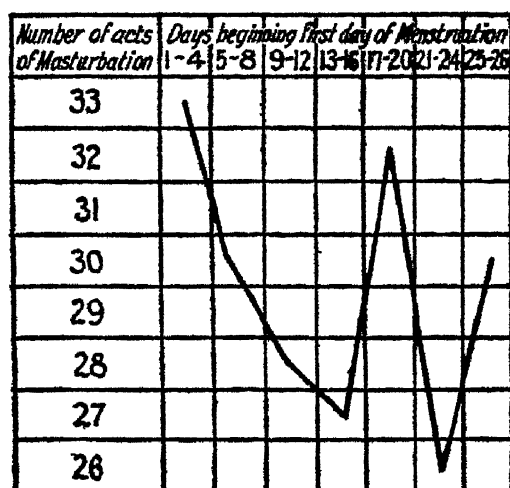
Mrs. A. has no children. She has travelled much, is attractive and accomplished, and has lived in hot countries, which has perhaps contributed to develop the sexual tendencies. She may, however, be regarded as fairly normal except as concerns the frequency of masturbation. She was taught this method of sexual indulgence at the age of fourteen, but seldom practised it at that time. It has become much more frequent during adult life, but has apparently had no injurious influence of any kind, nor has it interfered with pleasure in normal intercourse, which has often taken place shortly before or shortly after an act of masturbation. She is accustomed to note acts of masturbation (there are sometimes two in one day) in her diaries, as well as the date when menstruation begins and ends; she makes no entries of acts of sexual intercourse. The period for which I have these data covers two

¹ This, it may now be stated, was the late Lieut.-Colonel W. D. Sutherland, I.M.S. the Imperial Serologist for India, too skilled and acute a medico-legal observer to accept testimony easily.

years, with the exception of a break of a few weeks when she was away from home and had left her diary behind.

Mrs. A. resembles Mrs. F. in that the menstrual flow lasts for four days and the menstrual month oscillates round an average of twenty-six days. When the total number of acts of masturbation is summated and arranged, as with Mrs. F.'s

CHART II.



erotic dreams, beginning with the first day of menstruation, we have the following series: 8, 6, 9, 10, 10, 6, 5, 9, 8, 10, 4, 6, 6, 13, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 6, 8, 8, 4, 6, 3, 12. When, as before, we attempt to smooth the curve by condensing into two-day periods we have the series: 14, 19, 16, 14, 18, 10, 19, 8, 16, 16, 16, 10, 15. If, finally, we reduce to four-day periods (doubling the odd two-day period) we have this result: 33, 30, 28, 27, 32, 26, 30.

Here clearly is a curve exactly analogous to Mrs. F.'s curve of erotic dreams, though with variations from that curve. There are still two climaxes in the menstrual wave, but they have changed places. The extreme smoothening of the

curve, while emphasizing its shape, to some extent disguises the precise incidence of its high and low points. Mrs. A.'s secondary climax occurs shortly after the middle of her menstrual month, while her chief climax, which begins to appear and then falls just before menstruation (though the condensation involved by the irregular length of the month makes this preliminary rise even greater than it is really), is chiefly marked during the last two days of menstruation and the day immediately following. Mrs. F.'s chief climax occurs a little before the middle of her menstrual month, and her secondary climax, which is of considerably less magnitude, is at the second day of menstruation. In both Mrs. F.'s and Mrs. A.'s curves the longer and lower depression occurs in the week preceding menstruation.

I may further bring forward a case (kindly furnished to me by Dr. Norman Haire) which is interesting as it seems to show careful and precise self-observation. It is that of Miss S. aged 29. The menstrual periods began at 14, and she was regular until 21. Then she had intercourse and the periods ceased for six months. Then they reappeared and have continued ever since. Her menstrual cycle takes 24 days when out of health and 28 days when in good health. She herself divides it into five periods as follows: (1) Period of restlessness and sexual excitement, beginning five or six days before menstruation and lasting three or four days; (2) a period of depression lasting two days and immediately preceding menstruation; (3) period of menstruation, lasting three or four days; (4) period of persistent headache and vaginal contraction, lasting about a week and culminating in a sudden and brief crisis of sexual excitement; (5) normal period, lasting from nine to thirteen days according to the state of general health.

Her own account of the characteristics of these periods follows, given exactly in her own words:—

"1. Period of restlessness and sexual excitement. This period is marked by nervous tension, restlessness, abnormal gaiety, great talkativeness, keen sexual desire, a feeling of extraordinary physical

heightens sexual feeling, while, in the reverse direction, it was known even to Brantôme, four centuries ago, that in a woman sexual orgasm may occasionally cause sudden and involuntary expulsion of the contents of a full bladder. These phenomena of waking life occur, as we should expect, on the psychic plane of sleeping life in a much more vivid, dramatic, and picturesque way than is possible in waking life, for now the mind is on its receptive side in delicate and precise adjustment to the stimuli that reach it, without being liable to deformation or repression, in one direction or another, by inhibiting influences from its own higher controlling centers. The facility of association between the vesical and sexual centers is probably, it seems to me, indicated by the usually pleasurable and sometimes romantic character of vesical dreams. There seems no obvious reason why a purely excremental somatic need should become idealized and pleasurable before its fulfillment. As a matter of fact, the dreams aroused by the need for defecation (and those that proceed from the gastro-intestinal canal generally) do not seem to be idealized or to become pleasurable (see, for instance, the three dreams of this kind in the present series, LV, LXX, LXXXII), and this is intelligible when we bear in mind that little or no involvement of the sexual sphere is here possible. (The anus comes within the sexual sphere, but the anus is not here involved.) In the dreams of the present subject, it will be noted, vesical dreams follow closely after erotic dreams and flying dreams (which we have seen reason to associate in many cases with erotic dreams) by the large proportion containing elements of a romantic and pleasurable character. There are many indeed which are not of this character, and these we may perhaps regard as of more exclusively excremental origin, not involving in any degree the sexual sphere. About 12 out of the total of 22 may be said to be of this character, and were either commonplace, as when a water-tap is seen or a bath or visions of children urinating, or else actually distressing as when alarming floods seem to be taking place. The rest, of which five (3 per cent. in the original series) were definitely erotic, are of pleasurable and often charming

nature.¹ The subject is enjoying the spectacle of fountains and rivers and lakes in Nature or she herself is urinating copiously and sometimes producing fantastically beautifully fountains. There are three of this last type (which occurs in the dreams of other women) and one of them erotic. Another of them must be specially mentioned (CXXV) because it belongs to a type of dream otherwise unrepresented in this subject's dreams.

The tendency to adopt the mental attitude and habits and costume of the opposite sex is one that I term *sexo-esthetic inversion*, or, more simply, *Eonism*. It is a tendency which, in a slight degree, is found in otherwise perfectly normal people, especially girls and young women. I have elsewhere in this volume described a case in which it existed only in the dreams of a young married woman. The present subject has shown no clear trace of this tendency, either in waking life or generally in her dreams. But in this dream, which stands alone, we find a distinct trace of this tendency emerging, and the dreamer imagines herself as urinating like a boy and finds great pleasure in so doing. It may be noted that Adler has already referred to this practice in girls, or the attempt at it, as a common indication of what he terms "masculine protest," though it must not be supposed that the adoption by woman of the erect attitude for urination is to be regarded as necessarily or commonly a "masculine protest."² It is often adopted and even with great satisfaction by women who are completely heterosexual; thus a sexually normal young woman doctor notes: "I have discovered that this posture gives me an enormous and curious pleasure."

When we survey the whole series of vesical dreams here

¹ It is possible that some of the dreams classed as erotic (like Dream VI) may be of partly vesical origin. But we cannot say that a dream is of vesical type when it contains no actual or manifestly symbolic vesical elements.

² Karl Abraham went much further and fancied (*Klinische Beiträge*, p. 301) that in a woman to dream of floods of urine itself necessarily indicated a strongly marked "masculine complex." There was no such complex in the present case, and to have imagined it would have led us entirely astray.

presented we may see that they include nearly all forms, direct and indirect, realistic and symbolic, which such dreams tend to take. In five of them the dreamer pictures herself as fantastically or more prosaically performing the act; but in all the other dreams the act is either objectified or symbolized, so that there is no indication in the dream that the dreamer is herself experiencing the desire for it. In two dreams children are seen urinating. But in all the remaining dreams—some two-thirds of the whole number of such dreams, and as many as twelve out of fourteen of the original series—the idea of urination is never presented to dream consciousness at all. We may say, indeed, that there is perhaps no class of dreams in which the underlying motive is more often concealed and presented dramatically and picturesquely in a symbolic form than in vesical dreams. The test of such a dream is, of course, the sensation of vesical pressure on awaking or the presence of an urgent desire to urinate. That was nearly always verified by the subject in the present investigation. But even in the absence of such verification, when we are once familiar with these dreams we cannot easily fail to recognize their vesical source. Rivers, fountains, lakes, reservoirs, baths, water-taps, fish, swans—such images, well illustrated by the present subject, seem to be those commonly called up to dreaming consciousness by a full bladder. That was noted as regards some of these symbols by Scherner in Germany in the middle of the last century,¹ so it would seem that these symbols are largely independent of the subject's age and nation and rooted in the mechanism of the human mind.

It must not, of course, be concluded that in ascertaining the somatic stimulus that arouses a set of symbols, even when these symbols tend to be widely spread among very different people, we have said all that there is to say. It is well recog-

¹ R. A. Scherner, *Das Leben des Traums*, 1861, pp. 187 *et seq.* He showed much insight in tracing the vesical symbolism of dreams and noted that it included fear of danger from floods and (in case of a mother), drowning of her child, when vesical distension was extreme, though the dream was pleasurable if distension slight.

nized now that a dream may tell us far more than the source of the stimulus that evoked its symbolism. Even the symbolism thus directly evoked may differ widely, and differ significantly, in its character. Thus in another married woman, Mrs. C., of about the same age as Mrs. N., a frequent vesical dream is of being pregnant or in childbirth.¹ It seems an entirely natural vesical dream, the pressure of the bladder being interpreted by sleeping consciousness as pressure of the womb. But here an interesting and perhaps deeply significant fact emerges. Mrs. N., who has had two children, with difficult confinements, and therefore might be expected to experience such a dream, but who has no wish for more children, has no dream of this type to record; it is Mrs. C., who has never had a child but who would much like to have one, to whom the dream is liable to occur. This not only brings out clearly that it is not merely the nature of the stimulus to the dream, but the disposition of the dreamer on whom the stimulus acts, which fashions the dream, but it also seems to indicate a great fundamental truth concerning the nature of dreaming. Dreams are not only based on the past, with its actual experiences and ingrained impressions, they are also based on the future with its merely desired experiences and impressions. Dreams are not determined solely by a force from behind, but also by a force from in front. In a large number of dreams, even when the fact may not be immediately apparent, we are really concerned with a wish-fulfilment.

It is noteworthy that Mrs. N.'s numerous dreams of water seldom became associated with fire, although the combination of fire and water is very common, and is recognized in various countries. The following dream by another lady may serve to illustrate this association: She seemed to be in a wood with a man friend (with whom she had actually walked through a wood a fortnight earlier) and proposed that they should lie down together on the grass. She then noticed the ground was wet, and the friend objected, but they remained lying. She next observed splashes of fire between the trees,

¹ She writes, for instance: "Last night I dreamt again that I was having my much desired baby. I needed to micturate badly on rising; hence the congested feeling that started the dream."

but her friend said it was water. She thereupon realized that it was water, coming towards them and threatening to overwhelm them, and was frightened. She could now plainly see approaching streams of water and woke with a strong desire to urinate (having drunk much water the previous evening), but with no consciousness of sexual excitement. It will be noted that the fire is spoken of as appearing in "splashes," as though it were water, and it is evident that there are many links between fire and water, the one calls up the other, the sensation of water is sometimes "burning," and smoke resembles steam. Freud refers to this association in dreams as connected with earlier nocturnal enuresis (*Die Traumdeutung*, 1911, p. 204), as also Adler, and Ernest Jones (*Essays in Applied Psychology*, p. 306). Epilepsy has been recorded with enuresis and dreams of fire (*Ztbltt f. Psychoanalyse*, 11 Jahrgang, Heft 9, p. 535). In Japan there is considered to be a connection between enuresis and fire (Krauss, *Geschlechtsleben der Japaner*, p. 188). Westermarck has been impressed by the associations in popular belief in Morocco of fire and water (*Marriage Customs in Morocco*, pp. 121-2), and elsewhere (*Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. i, p. 300) states that in Morocco it is held bad to play with fire at night, and he who does so, especially if a child, will wet the bed. As far away as Ancient Mexico the belief in the unity of fire and water was marked. The Fire-God was the patron of water, and the Fire-Goddess was marked by the sign for rain. The Comanches expected rain from the Sun-God, and the Tarahumari of today pray to the Sun-God for rain (K. T. Preuss, "Der Ursprung der Menschenopfer in Mexico," *Globus*, Bd. 86, 1904, p. 117).

Dreams of Eating.

Dreams of sexual and allied origin have of recent years attracted such wide attention—by a reaction from the almost complete neglect which was formerly meted out to them—and they have aroused so many interesting and debatable problems, that there is a tendency to neglect the dreams which have their source of stimulation in other organic impulses. When, however, we are concerned with the synthesis of dreams we are compelled to recognize impartially the whole of the sources from which dreaming proceeds. If we do this, it is not surprising to find that the great fundamental function of eating is almost as conspicuous as that of loving; if indeed we include the whole digestive process, the incidence is about the same.

In the present series, against the 20 erotic dreams, we have 15 that are concerned with eating, and 3 of intestinal origin, in all 18. When, however, we remember that we have seen reason to conclude that the purely erotic group must be enlarged by additions from the vesical group as well as from that of dreams of flying, it may seem that food and digestion, which constitute so much more regular and constant an element in life than sex interests usually furnish, is inadequately represented. But, it must be pointed out, that is precisely the reason why eating plays a relatively small part in dreaming. It is the strong and irregular impulses that are likely to affect dreaming most conspicuously, while the constant and rhythmic action of the heart and lungs, so long as they are not stirred into unusual activity, fails to touch dream life. In the person of sound digestion, living a simple and normal life, eating in this respect tends to become more analogous to breathing than to sexual activity. No doubt there are individual variations, and in the dreams of another woman, in whose life, it may be, the question of food is more interesting, dreams of eating have a larger place, being 26 per cent.

It must not be supposed, however, that the food dream presents no problems.

Two of the food dreams in this series have indeed no obvious significance and no known relation to the actual condition of the dreamer's digestion at the time. But of the rest it is noted that 8 took place after a light or early supper, and 5 after a heavy supper, often immediately before going to bed. Two of the dreams of food after a light supper were merely a repetition of what had taken place during the day, and they may not, therefore, have had any reference to the dreamer's condition at the time of dreaming. The other dreams were either of preparing food or of seeing others eat or of being present at a meal or in a restaurant. It is probable that some of these dreams were associated with the actual readiness of the dreamer's organism for a meal.

It is well known that a state of hunger or of semi-starvation conduces to dreams of large and delicious meals. Ex-

amples have been recorded in the narratives of many travelers who have undergone privations.¹ Some have been brought forward by Freud, as well as by earlier investigators of dreaming, although, as Freud rightly points out, the significance of such dreams is not necessarily exhausted in the statement of their primary somatic source of stimulation. These dreams are, obviously, dreams of wish-fulfilment in its simple and direct, so-called infantile, form.

But, as we shall see, there are other dreams of food which cannot thus be explained as dreams of wish-fulfilment. They form a large and common group, and they are conveniently ignored by the writers who believe that wish-fulfilment is the key that will unlock all doors in the world of dreams. We find that 5 of the dreams of copious meals, or of dining at a restaurant or of seeking a restaurant, occurred after partaking of a large meal or on going to bed immediately after a meal. It is evident that this group of dreams cannot be regarded as of wish-fulfilment. If wish-fulfilment is the rule in dreams then they must be regarded as exceptions to the rule. But, as Darwin was wont to insist, apparent "exceptions" are highly significant; they cannot attract our attention too strongly, for they indicate that our rule is not large enough, and that we need a more fundamental rule. It may be quite obviously true that the stimulus to the dream, in a large group of food-dreams, has been furnished by the wish for food. But a wish, it must be remembered, is a non-intellectual conation, outside the sphere of reasoning, and dreaming is essentially a process of *reasoning*—the fundamental process, that is to say, in the minds of men and other animals²—and the wish can only be an external stimulus which has chanced to set the reasoning process to work. When the organic state is that of

¹ So also among half-starved war prisoners; see, for example, Dr. Amadeo dalla Volta, *Studi di Psicologia e di Psichiatria sulla Prigionia di Guerra*, Florence, 1919.

² "Our conceptual logic," Jules de Gaultier truly observes (*La Sensibilité Métaphysique*, 1924, p. 28) "exists virtually in the mentality of other biological species than man. It is not reason, pure reason, which distinguishes man from other animals; it is, on the contrary, that which he has in common with them."

hunger, the reasoning process, answering to the wish the organism transmits to it, sets up the appropriate mental process. And when the organism transmits an impression of repletion the reasoning process again begins to work. But this time it is not to fulfill a wish, it is to explain, which is an equally native function of the reasoning process. When a sensation of repletion is transmitted to the sleeping mind the natural mental reaction is a picture of eating, the dreamer imagines that he must be engaged in absorbing a copious meal, although—unlike the case of the really hungry dreamer—the picture may not be agreeable, and the food eaten sometimes seems unpleasant or disgusting, even filthy. This class of dream is by no means confined to the present dreamer. It may be found in the experience of many, if not all, dreamers, although its significance has not always been apparent to dream analysts. It may most easily be discovered in the dreams of those whose digestion is imperfect, especially when they have been tempted to indulge in a too late or too unwholesome meal.

The three intestinal dreams, which presented the act of defecation, were probably due to a slight impulse to the fulfilment of that act. In two of them there was slight colic on awaking, and the third occurred on going to bed immediately after supper.

The food dreams of this subject are confirmed by the experience of another subject—the woman dreamer previously mentioned—of whose dreams I possess a very long series. Thus, on one occasion, she had indigestion and nausea from eating just before going to bed food which did not agree with her. On falling asleep she dreamed of large dishes of food which, although not hungry, she was eating, very slowly, in order not to waste it. Then the dream continued with the discovery of lice which she killed with much disgust. Here we see clearly how dreaming is fundamentally a process of reasoning. The message of repletion is sent to the mind which thereupon, to account for these phenomena, assumes the act of eating. But as absence of hunger is reported the mind is obliged to assume that eating is due to a sense of duty, and, further, in order to

account for the disgusted feeling of nausea experienced, the mind argues that something very disgusting must have happened, and supposes it to have been the discovery of lice, a supreme symbol of disgust to the modern civilized mind. In her dreams of the same subject belonging to this group filth and excrement are introduced to account for the dreamer's sensations.

In my book, *The World of Dreams*, I endeavored to make clear the essential part played by the logical process of reason in all dreaming which goes beyond the mere presentation of disconnected images. It is common to speak of dreams as lacking in logic and reason, but it is actually the reverse; they are full of logic and reason. There is ground for bringing that fact forward in this place since the reaction of the sleeping mind to gastric repletion furnishes such definite evidence of logical process. A *wish*—and especially a *wish for explanation*—furnishes the motive force in the elaboration of the impressions and memories present to sleeping consciousness. It is strictly a *conation*, the movement of an impulse in a particular direction. But it cannot furnish an explanation of the dream itself or reveal its mechanism. It is, if we like, the fuel; it is not the engine. That is in the sphere of reason, and though we may often (not always) find the reasoning bad—sometimes wildly or fantastically bad—because of the limited, peculiar, or distorted nature of the material which sleeping consciousness has to deal with, it is still reason. If the logical process of reason could be abolished during sleep there could be no coherent dreaming at all, nothing but unrelated impressions and memories.

Dreams of Clothing.

Dreams of clothing and dressmaking and embarrassing absence of dress may here be mentioned, since food and dress are to be considered as associated needs, alike resting on a physiological basis. The dreams in which dress is merely noted without becoming a guiding motive in the dream may be disregarded. We then find dress may be said to be an active part

of the dream in 12 per cent. of this series. I do not propose to discuss the various aspects of these dreams of clothing, merely remarking that the subject may probably be said to possess a fairly average and feminine interest in the subject of dress and that she frequently makes her own dresses. Bearing this in mind the part played by clothing in her dreams seems by no means excessive, being rather less than that played by food. It may be of interest to compare her in this respect with the other woman dreamer of whom I have a long series of dreams. This subject has taken an active interest in dress and in dress reform; she is also rather unusually interested in food. In her dreams clothing (as well, it has already been noted, as food) plays a large part, in no less than 34 per cent. of the dreams, so that with her, though interest in food is unusually marked, interest in clothes is even larger: .

A certain amount of attention has been given by some writers to dreams of embarrassing absence of dress. In its typical and pronounced form it hardly seems that the dream of this type comes into Mrs. N.'s experience. There are, however, two dreams of undress (II and XXXII) and these are instructive as showing the origin of this type of dream. It is probable, indeed, that careful examination would usually reveal the real source of such dreams and that there is little need to devise any fantastic explanation of them. The dreamer really is in a state of undress, and it would be strange indeed if the consciousness of that fact failed at some moments of semi-awakening to penetrate to consciousness and cause embarrassment.¹ Both these dreams, it is instructive to note, occurred on going to bed immediately after a hot bath, and one was accompanied by a sensation of cold ultimately followed by a reaction of heat and then became erotic; this succession seems

¹ Professor Maurice Parmelee has mentioned to me the perhaps significant fact that while he formerly had such dreams, they have not occurred since he has investigated the German *Nacktkultur* Societies and became used to being naked in the presence of persons of both sexes. When the fact of being naked is no longer associated with embarrassment, we may suppose, it no longer makes any impression on dreaming consciousness.

natural. Freud regards such dreams as exhibitionistic.¹ I have no evidence for this explanation, which will not suit the present case.

Dreams of Traveling.

It may be thought strange to introduce this group. There seems to be, however, from observation of many dreamers, good reason to believe that such dreams—with which I include dreams of preparing to travel and preoccupation with luggage—have, in a large proportion of cases, a common origin, which is really organic.

This need not seem surprising when we consider their number. In the present dreamer's experience we find that they account for 13•per cent. of the whole number of dreams, so that dreams of traveling were more frequent than dreams of clothing and almost as frequent as dreams of eating.

No doubt a certain proportion of such dreams are simple memories, determined along paths which have no traceable relation to the dreamer's present organic condition, just as some of the dreams of food certainly are, and most of the dreams of dress. The present subject, during the war, in the years immediately preceding this series of dreams, had been obliged to undertake numerous journeys in France, sometimes under difficult and painful conditions, and memories of these experiences might easily recur to sleeping consciousness.

But there is a considerable group of traveling dreams which I regard as the rationalization by the sleeping mind of an actual organic condition of the blood-vessels of the head and the nervous system. This can often be demonstrated. Thus in another subject, who had been living for many weeks far from railway trains and noisy thoroughfares, I have a record which is to this point: he went to bed and woke up with a slight headache and during the night dreamed that he was wandering about a busy thoroughfare where many trains were passing along, and he was vainly seeking to find one going in

¹ S. Freud, *Die Traumdeutung*, 1919, pp. 167-71.

his own direction. It is fairly obvious that to sleeping consciousness the throbbing head recalls the vibrating railway train and finds in it the symbol, and the explanation, of the sensations actually experienced. In Mrs. N.'s records no note was made of the presence or absence of headache or other similar cause of the numerous dreams of traveling, with, however, two exceptions, but they happen to be crucial. These dreams (XLVII and XLVIII) occurred on two successive nights when quinine had been taken as a prophylactic before going to bed. It is well known that ringing of the ears, or pronounced pulsation of the blood-vessels of the head, tends to occur after a dose of quinine, and its occurrence is specially noted in the record of the second dream. During both nights the dreamer was haunted by images of luggage or railway trains. There can be no doubt that, in our society, the railway train is a normal symbol of a throbbing heart. With the increase of aviation the aeroplane will probably tend to take the place of the railway train in this type of dreams.

It would be easy to consider other aspects of this series of dreams. That, however, the reader if he chooses, may easily do for himself. The object of the present study has not been to investigate a particular person, and still less to analyze a particular case. The object has been to illustrate a method. This has been rendered possible by the gracious and highly intelligent assistance of a charming lady who has condescended for this occasion to become the *corpus vile* in which *experimentum fiat*. Therewith, it has, I hope, been made clear that, while the value of dream-analysis remains unquestioned, there are yet certain pitfalls into which when too narrowly followed it may sometimes lead, and that an important complementary guide to knowledge is furnished by the method of what I have termed dream-synthesis.

VI.

THE CONCEPTION OF NARCISSISM.

The figure of Narcissus had wandered down from classic times to modern times, from legend into literature, and thence into popular phrase, long before it entered into sexual psychology. I do not propose to trace these wanderings. It cannot even be said that they always help us to understand the scientific re-incarnation of Narcissus. But it is worth while to note a few of the sign-posts on the road.

The history of Narcissus in classic times was long ago traced by Wieseler. He considered that Narcissus belonged to the Thracians, being specially associated with places that were their seats or closely connected with them, this being also supported by the relationship of Narcissus to Selene and Endymion who were specially honored among the Thracians. The myth thus, he believed, originated from the symbol, the kernel of the myth being nothing else than the history of the flower. Narcissus had a water-god as father because the flower grows by the water, and his mother was Liriope because the flower is a lily. The name of the personification is the name of the being's symbol, and the name indicates the effects of frost, terror, syncope, death, these effects being attributed to the action of the plant. To the ancients generally Narcissus came to represent not only cold self-love but praiseworthy abstinence, while later some philosophers of the Platonic schools found in this figure a deep sense and a morality for life.¹ But for the most part Narcissus continued to be, as commonly represented in ancient art, a beautiful nude youth by a pool, languishing for love of his own fair image. How far the modern psychological conception implicit in this figure was vaguely apprehended remains obscure.

It has, however, recently been suggested that there really was present in the Greek mind the idea of Narcissus as embodying an attitude of mind which would now be termed auto-erotic. In a fragment of a comedy by Kratinos there is an uncertain phrase which Meineke reads as "the olisbos of Narcissus."¹ The olisbos, as we know, was primarily an instrument for the sexual gratification of women. But there is reason to believe that even in the days of Greek myth it was recognized that such a device could have a masculine use *per anum*, and there is a story of Dionysus in point.² Kratinos would thus be making fun of a Narcissist, though as he wrote in the spirit of caricature and parody he was only concerned with a physical manifestation of that disposition.

The figure of Narcissus was, however, clearly predestined to be the emblem of the absorbed self-love of youths and maidens who had not yet reached the stage of falling in love with another person of the opposite sex. It has, moreover, always been familiarly at hand, for it has chanced to assume its most charming and elaborately detailed shape at the hands of Ovid,³ who has come down, alike through medieval and Renaissance days, as the most attractive and popular of all the poets of antiquity. In Ovid's poem we see Narcissus, the beautiful youth who has disdained the love of Echo,⁴—herself, as Otto Rank expresses it, "the personification of corresponding acoustic self-mirroring,"—condemned, for punishment, to fall

¹ Quoted by Athenæus, Bk. XV, 676. (In the English translation by Yonge, vol. iii, p. 1080, where the phrase is left in the original.) As regards this instrument, see Havelock Ellis, *Studies*, vol. i; also *Herodas*, edited by Headlam and Knox, 1922, p. 288, and F. S. Krauss, *Das Geschlechtsleben der Japaner*, 2d ed., Ch. XIV.

² See Hans Licht, "Olisbos und Narcissismus," *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, Dec., 1925. Prof. Licht regards Meineke's reading as highly probable.

³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, lib. iii, 339 *et seq.*

⁴ It is interesting to note that it is Echo who brings us to the Greek explanation of the origin of masturbation. Pan was in love with Echo but could never succeed in laying hands on her, and his father Hermes, out of pity for his unsatisfied desire, mercifully taught him the secret of masturbation, hitherto unknown. But masturbation was known to other gods before the days of Hermes and the Greeks, for among the

in love with the image of a beautiful youth he saw in the water, not knowing that it was his own image. Through Ovid, Narcissus has entered the European poetic tradition.

Calderon in Spain, in the middle of the seventeenth century, may be said to effect the transition between the classic and the modern approach to Narcissus. It was a subject that appealed to Calderon's romantic love of the dream-like and the visionary which he often dealt with so happily. In *Eco y Narciso* he narrates, in three "Jornadas," following the general outline of the ancient story, the life of Narcissus, the unreturned love for him of Echo, his relation to his mother, and his own self-love, the nature of which his mother explained to him. The whole is related in Calderon's beautiful musical verse, in a sort of pastoral drama of which, in English, Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* is the type; but no clear modern interpretations are yet revealed.

An important stage was reached when Milton, a few years later in the seventeenth century, represented Narcissus in that feminine shape to which in modern times his attitude has always seemed best fitted, and showed the first Mother of Mankind in the typical Narcissistic attitude of adolescence before she had met Adam. Later, Eve tells Adam how she had heard a murmuring sound of waters from a cave, flowing to form a silent pool. She proceeds:

"I thither went
With unexperient thought, and laid me downe
On the green bank, to look into the cleer
Smooth Lake, that to me seemed another Skie,
As I bent down to look, just opposite,
A Shape within the watry gleam appeard
Bending to look on me, I started back,
It started back, but pleasd I soon returnd,
Pleasd it returnd as soon with answering looks
Of sympathie and love, there I had fixt
Mine eyes till now, and pin'd with vain desire,
Had not a voice thus warn'd me, What thou seest,
What there thou seest fair Creature is thyself,
With thee it came and goes."¹

¹ *Paradise Lost*, Bk. IV, 456-469. At a much later date Doughty described his Adoma in the same situation

It may not be out of place to remark here that the poets, alike in dwelling on water as a mirror and as revealing the presence of what seems an independent being, are true to the facts of primitive life. Thus Ehrenreich, in his expedition to Brazil among tribes untouched by civilization, found that the Bakairi were not impressed by a mirror; they called it "water."¹ Water is the primitive mirror, the only way primitive man has of objectifying himself, of seeing his own soul. Holmberg, referring especially to the Lapps, remarks on this as explaining the early belief in spirits that dwell in the water, and points out that when the Lapps say that the soul dwells in the water they mean that man sees his own image there.² A similar relationship is today seen in the dreams of youth. Thus in Forrest Reid's autobiographical book, *Apostate*, which contains much about dreaming in early life, a dream is recorded in which the youth imagined himself gazing at his own image in a pool, an image, however, entirely unlike his real self—which caused him no surprise—but much more like that he would wish to be. The dream was so vivid that on awaking he had to get out of bed to look at himself in the glass to make sure no miracle had occurred.³ This dream would now be regarded as exquisitely "Narcissistic."

It can scarcely surprise us to find that Rousseau, who was so great a pioneer in the discovery of the modern soul, had not failed to invoke Narcissus. It is certainly remarkable, however, that it was when he was himself at the age of adolescence that his attention was drawn in this direction. *Narcisse ou L'Amant de lui-même* was a comedy, not performed until 1752, but stated by Rousseau to have been written at the age of eighteen. In the scanty extant letters of Rousseau in youth I find no indications that point to *Narcisse*. He had just then first met Madame de Warens, but one gains the impression that his life was much disturbed. At the age of nineteen,

¹ P. Ehrenreich, *Zt. f. Eth.*, 1890, Heft 3, p. 97.

² Uno Holmberg, *Die Wassergötter der Finnisch-Ugrischen Völker*, 1913, p. 45.

³ Forrest Reid, *Apostate*, 1926, p. 102.

however (in 1731), he was occupied with plans of idylls and beginning to think that music and musical composition would be his career in life.¹ It is here that we must place the origin of *Narcisse*, but we may be permitted to believe that, when he produced it twenty years later, it had been much revised. It was produced anonymously at the Comédie Française, though Rousseau acknowledged the authorship immediately afterwards and professed much indifference as to the play and its fate.² Next year (1753) it was published. The long Preface, however, tells us little about the play. The story is of a young man, engaged to be married, who is much occupied with his own personal appearance and with feminine details of the toilette in the care of it. His sister, to tease him, secretly has a portrait of him painted in which he is dressed as a woman and this is placed in his room. He fails to recognize it as himself, falls in love with it, and cannot rest until he has seen the original, meanwhile trying to postpone his marriage. All ends well, however, with his discovery of the trick, and his marriage.

We may leap over more than a century to the *Genio y Figura* of the distinguished Spanish writer, Juan Valera. This is one of Valera's best novels, and reminiscent of his own life as Ambassador to the Argentine. We are here only concerned with one passage in the book, but to that passage special significance attaches. The heroine, Rafaela la Generosa, a Spanish courtesan of the higher grades, writes here, in her "Confidencias," of the admiration she aroused in her Argentine maid: "But I do not think she flatters me when I get out of my bath and she dries me and looks at me with a thrill of pleasure and says: 'Ah, my child, every day you grow more beautiful. Lucky the man who may look at you like this!' The fact is that I also look at myself with much complacency in large opposite mirrors and feel in full agreement with Petronila's opinion. I will confess all: when Petronila has left me alone, I do a childish thing which whether it is innocent or vicious I hardly know. I only know that it is a purely con-

¹ *Correspondance Générale*, vol. i, p. 14.

² *Correspondance*, vol. ii, pp. 33 et seq.

templative act, a disinterested admiration for beauty; what I do is not out of gross sensuality but æsthetic Platonism. I imitate Narcissus; and to the cold surface of the mirror I apply my lips and kiss my own image. This is the love of beauty for beauty's sake; the expression of affection in a kiss towards what God has made manifest in that disembodied reflection."¹

Novelists have not only noted the spirit of Narcissus in their creations, they have sometimes demonstrated it in themselves, consciously or unconsciously. This is perhaps true of Oscar Wilde, the author of *Dorian Gray*: It is indeed supposed by Merejkovski to be also true of one of the greatest of novelists, Tolstoy.² But the evidence for this statement is far from clear, and it is hardly supported by Tolstoy's *Childhood, Boyhood and Youth*, which is generally regarded as a truthful picture of the author's own intimate feelings in early life. At the beginning of the section on Youth in this book he has a passage much to the point where the writer says that when nearly sixteen he spent much time in looking at himself in the mirror: "However I always turned away with a vague feeling of depression, almost of repulsion. Not only did I feel sure that my exterior was ugly, but I could derive no comfort from

¹ Juan Valera, *Genio y Figura*, 1897, p. 181. How true to life is Valera's narrative may be seen by quoting a few sentences from the statement to Sadger (*Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, pp. 448 et seq.) of a young actress of 21: "I like being naked, as in the morning when washing; I take everything off, and at last wash myself, or usually let a chamber-maid do it, as formerly my mother did. As she washes and dries me I like looking in the mirror and it does me good, as though it were massage. When I am alone I like lying down and reading with my hand held to my breast. As a small child I liked running about the house naked and was not at all ashamed. Nor am I ashamed today before anyone. I have a longing to go walking in the moonshine with my friend [a handsome young officer], both of us naked, and to know how he would behave when he saw me quite naked. I once served as a model to a painter and hoped he would want me to take all my clothes off. At last he did. I stood naked and looked at myself in a mirror, and admired the picture in the mirror so much that I quite forgot the presence of the man. . . . When I have been manicured, and my hand looks beautiful, I kiss it. I also kiss myself in the mirror."

² Merejkovski remarks (*Tolstoy as Man and Artist*, p. 69): "We may say of him that from the moment when, as a child of three, he first noticed and admired his own young naked body, he has never ceased to worship it."

any of the usual consolations under such circumstances." It seemed to him that he was quite commonplace, just like a simple moujik, with the same big feet and hands. "All this seemed to me very shameful." Here we have described for us an attitude which seems that of the real Tolstoy throughout, a sensitive admiration of beauty, a constant preoccupation with self, at the same time an anxious self-dissatisfaction. It was Tolstoy's attitude even to the end and it seems to indicate not so much self-worship as defective Narcissism, though it must be added that from a psychoanalytic standpoint it would be quite possible to regard it as excessive Narcissism.

Tolstoy, whose insight into others was so profound, had no corresponding insight into himself. We admire his self-description; we are less sure of his self-comprehension. Marie Bashkirtseff, though not a novelist, was an artist in psychology and not only knew how to describe herself but also how to comprehend herself. She was an exquisite type of a mental state which had not yet been named, but she herself invoked the name of Narcissus in connection with it. In the very last of her letters she refers to "this unique and marvellous me, by which I am enchanted, and which I adore like Narcissus."¹

It is a state of mind, which, as we shall have to recognize, is common in women, and another Russian woman, Madame Merejkovsky ("Zenaïde Hippus"), wife of the well-known writer, and herself described as a charming person and accomplished writer, has written: "I love myself; I am my God."

All these writers, when describing in themselves or in the creatures of their imagination the mental state of Narcissus, had no thought of presenting a condition of mind which formed, or could properly form, a subject of study for the student of sexual psychology, normal or abnormal. But after the middle of the nineteenth century, when sexual psychology was beginning to become a recognized study, we find—under

¹ *Lettres de Marie Bashkirtseff*, p. 277.

one name or another or under no definite name at all—various references which here concern us.

Thus in Italy, Nicefero in 1897 described numerous cases, all in adolescent Italian youths, which we should now consider to have an extreme or even morbidly Narcissistic character. One, a healthy boy of fifteen with good heredity, would derive pleasure from the spectacle of his penis becoming erected, and even the idea of this would give him voluptuous emotions; he would also draw and color a picture of the organ and gaze at it when masturbating. Another youth had no pleasure in masturbating unless at the same time he could see his legs. A third youth of sixteen, in good health, had much pleasure in masturbating before a mirror which showed his sexual organs, and he said that this practice was quite common in his college.¹

In Germany, about the same time, Moll described the occurrence of more or less erotic self-admiration in several cases, especially in connection with homosexuality. Thus he tells in detail of a man of 43, with a high degree of sexual hyperæsthesia and sexually attached to both men and women, who found much pleasure in gazing at his own image naked in a mirror, and who would compare his shape with that of other men he knew.²

In France, Féré, about the same time, gave the name of auto-fetichism to the case of a girl who was in the habit of kissing her own hand and at the same time experiencing sexual excitement.³ All such cases, even if scarcely representing true or complete Narcissism, suggest its presence. We are approaching the point at which the conception began to take more precise shape.

Like other people, I had of course been familiar with so well-known a poetic figure as Narcissus. I had, moreover, read on publication with much admiration Valera's novel *Genio y Figura*, and been impressed with his description of Rafaela. It was, therefore, inevitable that when I became acquainted in

¹ Nicefero, *Le Psicopatie Sessuale*, pp. 25, 27.

² A. Moll, *Untersuchungen über das Fétichisme Sexuelle*, 1902, p. 924.

real life with a woman who possessed these characteristics in a high degree I should recall the image of Narcissus. This woman, perfectly healthy, by none regarded as anything but normal, and clever in business, I described in 1898 (the year after the publication of *Genio y Figura*), in the earliest paper to which I gave the name of "Auto-erotism," as the extreme type of the tendency. She is still living, nearly thirty years later, still unmarried, and now able to retire from business to a country estate she has purchased in her native county. She has never known—though it might please and would certainly amuse her to know—the stimulus she has provided to psychological conceptions.

In this first paper, "Auto-Erotism, a Psychological Study," in the St. Louis *Alienist and Neurologist*, vol. xix, April, 1898, I wrote: "To complete this summary of the main phenomena of auto-erotism, I may briefly mention that tendency which is sometimes found, more especially perhaps in women, for the sexual emotions to be absorbed, and often entirely lost, in self-admiration. This Narcissus-like tendency, of which the normal germ in women is symbolized by the mirror, is found in minor degree in some feminine-minded men, but seems to be very rarely found in men apart from sexual attraction for other persons, to which attraction it is, of course, normally subservient. But occasionally in women it appears to exist by itself, to the exclusion of any attraction for other persons." etc. In the volume of my *Studies*, containing the study of Auto-Erotism, which appeared in the following year, this discussion was further elaborated along the same lines.

At this point comes in Näcke, although not in time to be mentioned in my Study. I had been in friendly relations with Dr. Paul Näcke, Superintendent of the Asylum at Hubertusberg near Leipzig, for many years. He was accustomed to send me his publications when they appeared, and I to send him mine; he would summarize mine in German medical periodicals and I would summarize his in the English *Journal of Mental Science*. He was a man of vigorous and pioneering intellect who did much good work along various lines, though not of a specially original character, and was quick to take up and elaborate, though often in a critical spirit, the ideas struck out by other workers. Himself born, in what was then St. Petersburg, of a German father and French mother, he was international in his outlook and delighted to keep in touch with fellow-workers in

to come and stay with him; it was perhaps his good fortune to die just before the Great War which could not but have been a cause of deep grief to him.

So to Näcke in the ordinary course went immediately a reprint of my first paper on Auto-Erotism and in the ordinary course his notice of it speedily appeared. I have a vague and perhaps erroneous notion that there was an early notice I cannot now recover. The chief notice, which naturally came into the hands of German psychoanalysts who never saw my paper, appeared in the Dutch *Psychiatrische en Neurologische Bladen*, No. 2, 1899, and the German *Archiv für Psychiatrie* for 1899 (vol. xxxii, No. 13), on "Kritisches zum Kapitel der normalen und pathologischen Sexualität." This article deals fully with my *Alienist and Neurologist* article and in the course of it he writes: "Viel seltener als das Tagträumen ist der Narcismus, die Selbstverliebtheit. Hier ist die Grenze gegen blosser Eitelkeit zu ziehen und nur dort, wo das Betrachten des eigenen Ich's oder seiner Theile von deutlichen Zeichen des Orgasmus begleitet ist, kann mit Fug und Recht von Narcismus gesprochen werden. [I had not said this, and cannot accept the statement.] Das wäre dann der klassische Fall von 'auto-erotism' im Sinne von H. Ellis. Nach ihm soll Narcismus besonders bei Frauen sich finden, vielleicht weil der normale Keim dazu 'is symbolized by the mirror.' Auch hier giebt es noch viel zu forschen." It will be observed that Näcke does not put forward the term "Narcismus" with any air of inventing a novelty, but apparently simply as a translation of my "Narcissus-like tendency."

Thus I seem responsible for the first generalized description of this psychological attitude, and for the invocation of Narcissus; the "ism" was appended by Näcke. It seems correct to attribute to me the description of the condition as a normal state with morbid exaggerations, but the term should only be attributed to me in association with Näcke, though Näcke himself used it as though it were my term.

The matter is trivial, though a little complicated, but desirable to explain since various people have shown a wish to know the precise origin of a term which has since been so widely used.

The next step was taken by Freud and the psychoanalysts and it represents the decisive moment in the later development of Narcissism. In the first edition of Freud's almost epoch-making little book, *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, published in 1905, there is no reference to Narcissism. Freud was certainly at that date acquainted with the conception in its

earliest form, for he there adopted the term of "auto-erotism" with which in my writings it was associated. But in the second edition (1910) there is a reference to Narcissism, which is here regarded simply as a stage in the development of masculine sexual inversion, the subject being supposed to identify himself with a woman (usually his mother) and so acquiring self-love. Sadger, about the same time, recognized Narcissism somewhat similarly. Then at once the conception began to develop in the hands of the psycho-analysts.

To Otto Rank in 1911 is owing the earliest important study of Narcissism on strictly Freudian lines.¹ He begins by stating that while various investigators have touched on this "pathological condition" as he calls it, since I first called attention to it, "apart from one or two very interesting casuistic and literary indications, especially by Ellis, nothing has become known as to the origin and deeper significance of this singular phenomenon." He then proceeds to deal in detail with the definitely Narcissistic dreams of a young woman in whom this condition was in waking life well pronounced. Rank argues that there was a latent homosexuality of which the subject was not herself conscious. She was attracted to a man and had thus passed beyond the stage of early normal Narcissism. But she stated: "I can only love him when he loves me, else I couldn't." Rank considers this remark significant, as indicating that for a man she can only experience a love which has made a circuit through her own person. It is mentioned that she would sometimes feel sexual excitement when seated before a mirror doing her hair, and Rank refers, though only passing, to "the apparently very intimate connection between Narcissism and masturbation." Rank's study, full of interest and suggestion, was marked, as his work has always been, by its wide knowledge of the earlier scientific and literary suggestions of the subject in hand.

The first and most important study by Freud himself in the development of the conception of Narcissism dates from

¹ O. Rank, "Ein Beitrag zum Narzissismus," *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Pädagogik*, 1911, III, 1-10.

1914.¹ He assigns to Rank the credit of having given to Narcissism "a place in the regular development of human beings," Narcissism, he imagines, having previously been merely a perversion.² By this extension, Freud more carefully and more characteristically states, it becomes "the libidinal complement to the egoism of the instinct of self-preservation, a measure of which may justifiably be attributed to every living creature." Especially in persons whose libidinal development has suffered disturbance, their own selves are taken as the model. They seek themselves as a love-object and their type of choice of love-object may be termed Narcissistic. The human being has two primitive sexual objects—himself and the woman (usually his mother) who tends him. "Thereby we postulate a primary Narcissism in everyone."³ In the end it may sometimes dominate the object-choice. So there are two types of object-choice: (1) the *anaclytic* (Anlehnungstypes)—the leaning up against preference—of which the mother is the primary embodiment, and (2) the *Narcissitic*. Complete love of *anaclytic* type is properly characteristic of men. In women, there is more likely to be an intensification of the original Narcissism. "There arises in the woman a certain self-sufficiency (especially if she ripens into beauty) which compensates her for the social restrictions on her object-choice." But in childhood this is normal. "The charm of a child lies largely in his Narcissism, his self-sufficiency and inaccessibility, just as does the charm of certain animals." In the Narcissistic object-choice there are various alternatives, according as a person loves (a) what he is himself, (b) what he once was, (c) what he would like to be, (d) someone who was once part of himself. Adler's "masculine protest," Freud adds, contrary to

¹ S. Freud, "Ueber Narzissismus," *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. vi. It was some years later reprinted in Freud's *Sammlung*, Fourth Series, and translated into English in Freud's *Collected Papers*, vol. iv, pp. 30-59.

² On this statement I may comment that while Narcissism was first put forward by me as the extreme form of auto-erotism, auto-erotism in my sense is not a perversion.

what Adler himself believes, is really Narcissistic, though derived, Freud considers, from the castration complex.

In later writings Freud has frequently introduced incidental references to Narcissism extending, or sometimes modifying, the earlier psycho-analytic conception. Thus in 1916 he stated that the libido of the early Narcissistic phase is not *completely* transferred to objects; "a certain degree of Narcissism continues"; the libido can flow backwards and forwards between object and ego, and in so doing is performing a healthy function. In the same year, writing of the Narcissism of sleep, he makes this point clearer: "Narcissism and egoism are one and the same; the word Narcissism is only employed to emphasize that this egoism is a libidinal phenomenon as well; or to put it in another way, Narcissism may be described as the libidinal complement of egoism." Near the end of his *Lectures* Freud explains the Narcissism of dreams: "In the sleeper the primal state of the libido distribution is again reproduced, that of absolute Narcissism, in which libido and ego-instincts dwell together still, unified and indistinguishable in the self-sufficient Self."

It was inevitable that, in Freud's conception, Narcissism should become a characteristic of primitive man, and thence that he should trace to it the origin of magic, as an exercise of excessive Narcissism. But the general Narcissism of man has, Freud considers, received three blows from science: (1) Copernicus destroyed the belief in the centrality of the earth and so gave human self-love a cosmological blow. (2) Evolution, through Darwin, taught that man is an animal, and so Narcissism received a biological blow; and finally (3) psycho-analysis showed that man is not, as he thought, master in his own house, but subject to instincts and influences from the subconscious not completely under his own control, and so Narcissism received a psychological blow.

In the fourth edition (1920) of the *Drei Abhandlungen* Freud presents Narcissistic ego-libido as the great reservoir out of which object-love is put forth and into which it is again withdrawn, the primitive condition realized in the first child-

hood, and still maintained beneath later outgrowths of the libido which merely conceal it.

It may be added, that other psycho-analysts of Freud's school usually speak in the same general sense on this matter. Thus Sadger refers to Narcissism as "a frontier conception, in which the separation of the sexual impulse from the ego-impulse is reduced to a fundamental unity." He regards it as essentially normal, only its fixations and extravagances as pathological. A certain degree of Narcissism is compatible with object-love, for "everyone is in some degree in love with himself." But he adds the significant observation that what we can place to normal egoism should not be reckoned to Narcissism. We must sharply distinguish between self-seeking egoism and libidinous Narcissism which rests on an over-valuation of the subject's own body. It is an attitude characteristic of the child, and the attitudes of his elders favor it; Sadger quotes a remark of Friedjung that to get on with a child, as in clinical examination, one must appeal to his Narcissism. In women, Sadger believes, love usually remains at this stage. "It is herself she is loving in love, and with a man only because he loves *her* and not on account of his own qualities. She does not need to love but to be loved. On that account she is free from the sexual over-valuations which are peculiar to men in love." Sadger also thinks that friendship is not so much, as some have supposed, a spiritualized homosexuality but an extended Narcissism, and we speak of our friend as our "alter ego."¹

Even the psycho-analysts who have fallen away from strict Freudian orthodoxy, usually continue to attach great importance to Narcissism. Thus Stekel, even in his later voluminous writings, still gives an ever greater importance to Narcissism, though along his own lines. He regards hate as more primitive, more primary, than love, which he considers a "Kulturprodukt." Love is originally directed only towards the self. Every creature is originally oriented in a Narcissistic

¹ Sadger, *Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, pp. 21, 74-5.

direction. Thus Narcissism becomes the source of altruistic feelings: I love you because you give me pleasure. Hence the love of the suckling to the mother or nurse. In another direction, Stekel regards Narcissism as offering the explanation of all sexual perversions: they are all manifestations of wounded self-love. The Masochist, the Sadist, the Fetichist, are all really occupied with themselves, although apparently the object of their desire is outside themselves. "All the various morbid variations of the sexual impulse are but mirror pictures of the morbid inner nature."¹

Sadger's brief discussion of Narcissism, while that of an orthodox Freudian psycho-analyst, brings out points of difficulty in its definition which Freud himself, who avoids definitions because his conceptions are always growing and expanding, had left undecided. But they have not been disregarded by others, outside the field of psycho-analysis, and have perhaps induced some psychologists to be shy of Narcissism on account of the vast and shadowy outlines it has sometimes assumed. McDougall in his *Abnormal Psychology*, while most sympathetic towards Freud's general conceptions, gives but small space to Narcissism. Rohleder, indeed, places it (preferably with the awkward name of "automonosexualism") among the three fundamental sexual impulses: Narcissism (sexual feeling towards the self), homosexuality, and heterosexuality. But he regards it as rare, having only met with a few cases, and he defines it strictly. He holds that it does not exist unless there is definite sexual feeling. Otherwise we merely have an exaggerated vanity. He regards it as related to other anomalies, to transvestism and especially to fetichism. His cases, one a very complete type, are all in men. He believes that the cause may be an inborn defect in the sex-center of the brain.² This standpoint is obviously far removed from that

¹ W. Stekel, *Sadismus und Masochismus*, 1925, pp. 15, 486. In his *Psychosexueller Infantilismus* (1922), Ch. XXII, Stekel discusses Narcissism at length, defining it as the condition of being in love with oneself, and normal in the child, while most adults have a period of Narcissism.

² Rohleder, *Vorlesungen über das gesamte Geschlechtsleben des Menschen*, 4th ed., 1920, Bd. iii, Ch. LI.

of Freud, for whom Narcissism is a normal stage of development.

Hirschfeld in the main agrees with Rohleder—though not regarding the phenomenon as so rare—and uses his term, automonosexualism, to cover Narcissism, with other extensions towards transvestism, fetichism, exhibitionism, etc., not usually so covered. Hirschfeld decisively rejects the Freudian doctrine that Narcissism is a normal stage of all psycho-sexual development, or that the Narcissist belongs to a definitely youthful stage in which he permanently remains. The failure to react to sex attractions is a specific defect which must have an exceptional and weighty cause we do not yet know. It is a well-defined sexual perversion, with relationships to other perversions, especially scopophilia. Hirschfeld suggests that there is a kind of splitting of personality, one part looking on at the other, an “ideal partner,” as Petermann had previously supposed, to account for the mirror fascination.¹ One may note, however, that this “ideal partner,” another self, is normal and not uncommon in the day-dreams or even the actual dreams of children, who invent an entirely imaginary companion to share their feelings and experiences.²

Freud, as we have seen, was not to be held back by any precise practical clinical considerations. In his hands the conception of Narcissism took on a new significance and became of immense importance. Everything that Freud has touched—that indeed is always the mark of genius—takes on a new significance and becomes of importance. For my own part, I regard this transformation as a legitimate application of the original observation from which Narcissism started. For me Narcissism was the extreme form of auto-erotism, which, it must be remembered, was a term devised to cover all the spontaneous manifestations of the sexual impulse in the absence of a definite outer object to evoke them, erotic dreams in sleep being the type of auto-erotic activity. Auto-erotism was thus not

¹ M. Hirschfeld, *Sexualpathologie*, Part I, Ch. VI.

² This phenomenon has often been described, recently by Forrest Reid in his autobiographic book, *Apostate*, Ch. X.

properly a perversion though it might become so when deliberately pursued at the expense of the normal objects of sexual attraction. The psycho-analysts in adopting the term "auto-erotism" have given it a different meaning which I regret, as being both illegitimate and inconvenient. For the psycho-analyst "auto-erotism" generally means sexual activity directed towards the self as its object.¹ That is illegitimate, for the ordinary rule is that a word compounded with "auto" (like automobile or autonomous) means not *toward* itself but *by* itself. It is inconvenient because if we divert the term "auto-erotism" to this use we have no term left to cover the objectless spontaneous sexual manifestations for which the term was devised.

However this may be, having narrowed and changed the conception of auto-erotism it was difficult for Freud to retain Narcissism within its limits. Narcissism became a later stage of what in the infant had been auto-erotism. And while I had regarded all these manifestations as, though in origin natural, not of invariable occurrence in the life of every individual, Freud sought to establish them as almost inevitable stages in the development towards adult sexual maturity, perhaps normally indispensable.² It was an impressive and fruitful conception, though when thus universalized, it could not but be regarded by many as somewhat speculative.

That indeed has been the attitude of many of the most able and cautious of the older representatives of sexual psychology outside psycho-analysis. Thus Löwenfeld, whose opinion always deserves attention, after tracing the conception of Narcissism back to my earliest observations, and remarking that it only becomes a perversion when it leads to actual sexual excitement, adds that he cannot agree with the psycho-analysts that Narcissism is a normal stage of transition between auto-erotism and object-love, though inclined to agree with Rank that it rather favors homosexuality.³ Within the Freudian

¹ But Dr. Ernest Jones states that he regards auto-erotism as objectless, and Narcissism as distinguished by having an object, the self.

² *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. iii, pp. 53-4.

³ Löwenfeld, *Sexualleben und Nervenleiden*, 5th ed., 1914.

School that latter view has from the first been specially maintained by Sadger. "We can say of homosexuality," he observes, "that it is the Narcissistic perversion *par excellence*," adding that the chief characteristic of inverts is their vanity (a statement, however, that is not always true) and that they never forgive a wound to their Narcissism.¹

The classic Narcissus was a youth, though always represented as of rather feminine type. My own first observation was in a woman, as was that of Rank, who remarked that this characteristic forms a good piece of the whole normal feminine disposition, especially in constituting vanity. One may recall, with Róheim, the Japanese saying, that the sword is the soul of man and the mirror the soul of woman. As it is a man who is speaking there may be interest in turning to a feminine psychologist. Dr. Else Voigtländer, who is not a psycho-analyst, in dealing with the problem of sexual differentiation has some remarks that are worth quoting, and the more so as she seems to show no awareness of the existence of the conception we are here discussing. After pointing out that masculine activities are directed definitely to an object, confined to that object, not streaming out beyond it, and ceasing with the attainment of the object, she continues: "Feminine activity has *not the same clear relationship to an object*; it is lived out in quite another way, *in itself*, exhausting itself in its own movement, in its own excitement, having its course in itself, in its own interior, and therein the woman lives and moves, swimming as it were, in her proper element."² It seems evident that by this statement, which is further developed, a feminine distinction is indicated which may perhaps

¹ Sadger, *Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, p. 148. A special association between Narcissism and homosexuality is also asserted by K. W. Gerster, a pupil of Stekel's ("Beziehungen des Narcissismus zur Homosexualität," *Fortschritte der Sexualwissenschaft*, Bd. ii, 1926). He believes that in homosexual persons there is a polar tension between the masculine and feminine elements of the personality, and that this can only be bridged over by Narcissism.

² Else Voigtländer, "Zur Problematik der Geschlechtsunterschiede," *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, July, 1923.

be more simply and clearly expressed by saying that women are more Narcissistic than men.

Another woman psychologist, this time an acknowledged psycho-analyst, Dr. Sabrina Spielrein, also accepts Narcissism as a peculiarly feminine characteristic. It is so, she subtly seeks to explain, because it is connected with a woman's need to lose herself in the object of a man's love, out of instinctive identification with him.¹ So that, as Rank found, in the Narcissistic woman object-love would be circuitous, only here the circuit is in the opposite direction, not through the woman's person to the lover, but through the lover to the woman's person. In both cases, however, there is object-love. So that evidently we must not too hastily generalize that Narcissism, at all events in woman, is a stage antecedent to object-love; it can exist without ever reaching the stage of object-love, or it may simply be the accompaniment of such love. At the other end, it is recognized that Narcissism may sometimes develop very early. Jekels tells of a little German girl of twenty-seven months who showed great pleasure in her own image naked in a mirror and said: "Trudi schön."² Abraham, indeed, regarding it as normally an infantile characteristic, would define Narcissism as "that stage in the development of the *libido* in which the child is himself the center of his own narrow world and in which he receives proofs of love from other persons without himself giving any return." Abraham also puts object-love back into infancy, though at a later age.³ He would, further, accept a middle stage, between the two, of a partial object relationship, a kind of fetichism.⁴

It is to Abraham that we owe an interesting—even if at times rather questionable—extension of the conception of Narcissism. It is important, however, because he uses it in a highly ingenious and plausible way to explain the widespread

¹ *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. iv, 1912, p. 483.

² *Int. Zeitschrift f. aertische Psychoanalyse*, 1913, Heft iv, p. 375.

³ K. Abraham, *Klinische Beiträge*, p. 269. The paper from which this passage is quoted was originally published in 1916.

⁴ K. Abraham, *Versuch einer Entwicklungsgeschichte der Libido*, 1924.

defect of *ejaculatio præcox*. Abraham argues that Narcissism in infancy may take the form of an over-valuation of the penis, leading to an exaggerated urethral pleasure, with the result that the infant enjoys wetting the persons with whom he is associated, and he mentions infants who seem to select special preferred persons for their favor. When this disposition is preserved in later life, Abraham proceeds, instead of passing on to the normal adult stage of sexual activity the penis deals with semen as in infancy with urine; the partner then is merely wetted and no intercourse takes place.¹ The theme is developed by Abraham with many interesting elaborations. He admits that the treatment based on this theory is difficult. He regards it as the aim of the treatment to free the patient from his Narcissism and bring him into a normal state. But the tendency is increasing to magnify the place of Narcissism in normal life, and Abraham himself later sometimes lent himself to that view, as by regarding an injury to Narcissism as the cause of war neuroses. It leads to "a deep-seated sense of inferiority." The patient is compelled to react against his repressed Narcissism by assuming "a jerky conceitedness" to take its place.² So that if a psycho-analyst succeeds in exorcising a patient's Narcissism without beneficial results the resources of psycho-analysis must not be regarded as exhausted, since it may be equally successful in restoring the lost Narcissism. Or *vice versa*. Nor can the practitioner in other and older departments of medicine fail to recognize the orthodoxy of this ambivalent attitude of psycho-analysis. In every department of medicine, from the beginning of medical history, directly opposite methods of treatment have been applied to disease, even to the same disease. Nor can it be said that this is not still true today.

One of the elaborations in Abraham's paper is an extension of his view of *ejaculatio præcox* to women by seeing its

¹ K. Abraham, "Ueber Ejaculatio Præcox," *Klinische Beiträge*. This paper was first published in 1916.

² E. Jones, "Mother-right," *Int. Jow. Psycho-analysis*, April, 1925, p. 129.

precise analogue in feminine frigidity. Ernest Jones has also subsequently remarked that sexual anesthesia in women is associated with an exaggerated tendency to Narcissism, partly as a cause, partly as a result of the anesthesia; "the woman, unable to give what the man most wants, attaches in a compensatory way an excessive value to her other charms."¹

Narcissism is again invoked by Abraham in the course of the paper, so fruitful in ideas, just quoted, to explain a fairly common aberration, exhibitionism. Stekel, also, who emphasizes the persistence of an infantile element in exhibitionism, regards exhibitionism as a specialized form of Narcissism, a belief in the magical power of bodily charm.² The supposition of such a connection easily presents itself, and in the instinctive and casual exhibitionism of the child it may probably be accepted. But in exhibitionism as an adult sexual aberration, the phenomena are much more complicated. Here, too, an early Narcissistic trait may sometimes have persisted as a basis for the anomaly, but it is by no means a necessary assumption in every case. In a typical exhibitionist the act is prompted, consciously or instinctively, by the desire to gain sexual pleasure by the spectacle of emotion—whether of corresponding pleasure or of confusion or of horror—in a person of the opposite sex. This impulse may well be favored by a Narcissistic attitude, but it may also easily exist in the absence of that attitude.³

The part of Narcissism in the girl and woman, we have seen, has scarcely been disputed. But the conception of the castration-complex, which has more recently attracted attention, has had a certain repercussion on the earlier conception of Narcissism. It has involved some re-adjustment—though we may regard the castration-complex itself as having a Narcissistic basis—and this has been attempted by, for instance, Hárnik of Berlin, working on the lines of Freud and Ferenczi. There is an original Narcissism, and in the purest and truest

¹ E. Jones, *Papers on Psycho-analysis*, 2d ed., p. 550.

² W. Stekel, *Twelve Essays on Sex and Psychoanalysis*, 1922, p. 247.

³ See the discussion of Exhibitionism in vol. v, of these *Studies*.

feminine types, Hárník agrees, this undergoes an intensification at puberty. But before puberty the sex life of women has had a masculine trend with concentration of excitability in the clitoris; the girl had virtually possessed a penis. With the coming of puberty there is a reinforcement of sex inhibitions and a development of the secondary sex characters. The consciousness of beauty correspondingly develops, and Narcissism is intensified. The young woman's "beauty" and "charm" compensate her for the loss of her infantile masculinity. The male, on the other hand, retains the Narcissistic estimation of his penis, not transferring his self-admiration to his face, though the underlying bisexuality renders possible in the male also a secondary Narcissism extending to the whole body and resembling that of the female. Hárník recognizes in the male also another secondary Narcissism—though it might better be regarded as a primary and normal phenomenon—appearing as "manliness." In women, also, this may exceptionally occur as a transference to athleticism.¹

It will not have escaped some readers that in this discussion there is already assumed the existence of a conception of which no definite account has been given, the conception, that is, of the individual psyche itself as arising from a Narcissistic source. Rank was here again the pioneer in a study of the hallucination of the "double," published three years after his first study.²

But before dealing with Rank's study, some reference should be made to an earlier writer, the distinguished English investigator of primitive thought, Sir J. G. Frazer, who was a pioneer on this side of the Narcissistic conception and is frequently quoted by Rank. Indeed by the very title of the section of his great work entitled "The Soul as a Shadow and a Reflection" Frazer had obviously already set forth the germ of some of the large future developments of Narcissism and

¹ G. Hárník, "The Developments of Narcissism in Men and in Women." *Int. Jour. Psycho-Analysis*, Jan., 1924.

² O. Rank, "Der Doppelgänger," *Imago*, 1914, reprinted in the same author's *Psychoanalytische Beiträge zur Mythologie*, 1919, pp. 267-354.

assumed an origin for them in the individual's reaction to the vision of his own image.¹ The savage, says Frazer, "often regards his shadow or reflection as his soul," and he gives various examples from many parts of the world. Frazer believes that mirrors are turned to the wall after a death for fear the soul if projected on the glass may be carried off by the dead man's ghost—not perhaps a very plausible or even intelligible view—and on referring, in this connection, to the Greek belief that one must not look at one's reflection in water lest the water-spirits should drag that reflection, which is the soul, under water, and leave the man soulless, he remarks: "This was probably the origin of the classical story of the beautiful Narcissus, who languished and died through seeing his reflection in the water. The explanation that he died for love of his own fair image was probably devised later, after the meaning of the story was forgotten."

Rank considers that this view is possible, and that if so the later development is connected with pain in accepting the idea of death. Rank's approach to the question is not, however, mainly from the primitive side though he recalls that in the previous year (1913) Freud had accepted and emphasized the view that the primitive man, like the child, is "frequently Narcissistic." He begins with an extensive discussion, aided by his wide acquaintance with literature, of the idea of the "double" (the shadow, the mirror image, the embodiment of the soul) as manifested in poems and novels, as well as in the actual lives of some poets, for, as is well known, Goethe, Shelley, Alfred de Musset, and others had the experience of meeting their own doubles. This approach is justified on the ground that the artist reproduces the primitive man. In this connection Rank gives due prominence to Oscar Wilde's *Dorian Gray*, which illustrates various aspects of Narcissism, to a greater extent probably than any other imaginative work in English literature, and in it Wilde directly invokes Narcissus. Rank quotes the saying of Schlegel that "the poet is

¹J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, "Taboo and the Perils of the

always a Narcissus," and, following the view of Freud that paranoia is "a fixation of Narcissism," he shows how on this side the poet may become psychically morbid. But in his normal aspects Rank asserts (with Freud) that the poet represents the theme of creation based on the tendency of man to perceive the surrounding world as a repetition of himself. Rank thus branches out in various directions from his initial topic of the "double" in his usual discursive, fruitfully suggestive, and always well-informed way. He here blends the sexual-psychological thread of Narcissism as presented by me with the general psychological and pathological threads of Freud and the folkloristic of Frazer, for all of them enter into the later conception of Narcissism.

Starting from Rank's study, Dr. Géza Róheim of Budapest, in an elaborate and learned volume, has carried this conception into a special region of folk-lore, the superstitions and charms connected with the mirror in many parts of the world.¹ "Truly, he who has seen, heard, understood, and recognized his own Self, to him this whole world is known"; that saying from the Upanishad is the motto of the book, and Dr. Róheim—working out at one special spot the Freudian idea that Narcissism lies at the basis of magic—seeks to show that the chief popular practices and beliefs in connection with the mirror—the occasions when it should or should not be looked at, the significance of breaking it, etc.—have an unconscious Narcissistic reference, the mirror being regarded (and the guardian-angel likewise) as the representative of Narcissism. For Dr. Róheim the taboos placed on children with respect to mirrors are forms of the repression of Narcissism and exhibitionism, and mirror-gazing is the emergence of the uninhibited impulse. The adult seers who use mirrors in magical rites can dispense with the aid of children as they themselves retain traces of infantile Narcissism. The custom of looking into the mirror for the image of the lover, again, indicates the progression of libido from Narcissism to object-love, the lover being chosen

¹ Géza Róheim. *Spiegelsauber*, Internationale Psychoanalytische Bibliothek, 1919.

on a Narcissistic basis. The mirror, further, by magical substitution, can become identical with the person whose image it shows; hence the significance of breaking a mirror, the break with Narcissism being, however, primarily thus indicated. A key to all the collective representations and rites which center in the mirror is thus found in Narcissism. And as that stage of psycho-sexual development belongs essentially to childhood, mirror taboos are largely concerned with the child; and when the adult finds his own infantile stage in his child, mirror-gazing leads to re-incarnation.

The problems of mirror folklore, which had primarily been explained by animism, are here explained by the individual-psychological principle of Narcissism, the psyche being regarded as the Narcissistic image of man, for what in the life of humanity has been called Animism corresponds in the evolution of the individual to Narcissism. Herewith, Dr. Róheim concludes, we do not overthrow the results already obtained; on the contrary we find for them a new support. The only difference is that the new methods go deeper, explain more, and reveal more intimate impulses.¹

We thus approach the imposing final development of the conception of Narcissism. This has sometimes been dubiously traced back—notably by Abraham in the important paper on Ejaculatio precox already mentioned—to a primitive infantile origin in coprolagnia and urolagnia.² The primitive conception of “the almightiness of thought,” Abraham states, is parallel with the conception of “the almightiness of the bladder and bowel functions” (as illustrated by the little boy with constipation who dreamed in the night of pressing out the universe in an action of the bowels): in both conceptions the same *Narcissistic self-overvaluation* is visibly expressed. But there is some confusion here and a lack of psychological subtlety in precise differentiation. In all self-valuation or self-overvalua-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 263.

² K. Abraham. *Klinische Beiträge*, p. 268, and especially another paper in the same volume written four years later (1920), “Zur Narzisstischen Bewertung der Exkretionsvorgänge.”

tion, such as Narcissism essentially is, there must, consciously or unconsciously, always be an implied comparison, or at all events selection; otherwise the gratification experienced can scarcely be called Narcissistic. Abraham himself in another place clearly realized this by speaking definitely of Narcissism as a sense of the individual's superiorities, that is to say over other individuals ("die eigene Vorzüge"). For the psychoanalysts it was doubtless an outburst of extreme Narcissism when a German boy, on the eve of a serious operation on his mother, opened the window, shook his fist towards the sky, and exclaimed: "You Dog, if you let my mother die, you will have to deal with ME!"¹ He had instinctively assumed that he was himself the superior of God. But the enjoyment of an elementary physiological function in its simple form can scarcely be Narcissism; it involves no preference for the self nor any comparison of the self with other selves, such as is involved, implicitly or explicitly, in all Narcissism. The enjoyment of an inhalation of the lungs in the bright morning, even if it suggests to us that we are inspiring the spirit of the universe, involves no Narcissistic comparison; and the expulsive force of the bowels, whatever magnificent ideas it may suggest, is, in its origin,² equally apart from Narcissism. The satisfaction of these physiological functions brings the self into union with other selves rather than set the individual self apart from them. The implication of comparison and selection and preference, even superiority, lies, consciously or unconsciously, at the basis of Narcissism.

If, therefore, we are to bring these large alleged extensions of Narcissism legitimately within its frame, we must understand that we are no longer concerned with the Narcissism of the individual self. We shall have to recognize group-Narcissism, then, especially *National Narcissism* and *Specific*

¹Walter von Molo reports this of his brother in boyhood, "Mein religiöse Fühlen," *Kunstwart*, Dec., 1925.

²It is scarcely necessary to make clear that by a secondary development Narcissism may in either case come in, as when it is a question of comparing the relative cubic capacity of the lungs or when little boys compare the distance to which they can project the urinary stream.

Narcissism. Patriotism and the vulgar hatred of foreigners would thus be manifestations of National Narcissism,¹ while every glorification of humanity and the future of mankind would be a manifestation of Specific Narcissism.

In the wide sense, Narcissism, as now understood by psycho-analysts, tends to be identified with the whole development of the self, and thus to be a normal and essential part, even the whole part, of all individual development.² Its more special development occurs just before puberty when, according to Kapp, it gives way, on the one side, to object attachment and, on the other side, to a revaluation of early sensational elements. "Each increase in the child's Narcissism represents an achievement, a triumph of activity over passivity, of accomplishment over auto-erotism. It has been won at the sacrifice of an indulgence. These activities stand between him and his repressed auto-erotism and fill him with a sense of right-doing. It is largely this sense of right-doing which carries along the Napoleons of this world" (who are strongly Narcissistic types) and enables them to carry other people along with them." It is this feeling which shows itself in the normal boy just before the genital stage is reached. "He embraces outdoor exercise and positively worships bodily fitness. He despises courting as being 'soft and womanly.'" So that all sport and athleticism become a form of Narcissism. The youth, Kapp says, is thus fighting against the biologically necessary return of sexual feelings because they seem to him a regression to the earlier auto-erotic forms of sensation. Kapp would call this the ascetic or asocial Narcissistic stage. Following a hint of

¹ The necessity for the definite distinction of National Narcissism is recognized by some psycho-analysts, as Róheim (*Int. Jour. Psycho-analysis*, March, 1922, p. 103). It is a Narcissistic ego-ideal, Róheim believes, strongly marked in savage men, which forms the affective background of the group; "the group is that part of the world which has been introjected into the Ego." This becomes National Narcissism, and glorifies the humble past of a nation into an age of heroic activity, and at periods of danger from external foes results in patriotism.

² Reginald Kapp, "Sensation and Narcissism," *Int. Jour. Psycho-analysis*, July, 1925. Wälder, in the same number of this Journal, similarly identifies Narcissism with ego-development.

Wälder's, he recalls that Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Kant, Newton, Spinoza and Nietzsche were unmarried, and suggests that we may regard them as Narcissists who have found the right outlet for their Narcissism in developing the internal aspects of the outer world.

It is inevitable that along these lines we should reach the conception that all creation is essentially an exercise of Narcissism. That is clear when we realize that typical creation is the making of things in the image of the creator, as the world itself is fabled to have been made. "In reality Man creates God after his own image," Róheim remarks, "but in the myth God creates Man after his own image. Every psychic creation can arise from a projection of the personality of the creator, and that is why the Gods create Man after their own image."¹ It is of the essence of Narcissism, Wälder states, "to create a world for oneself, *sich seine Welt zu dichten*, to use a fine phrase of Strindberg's *Totentanz*; we may call a method Narcissistic if it allows us to build constructions out of our own minds, comparatively freely and arbitrarily." This is a function, Wälder insists, which may be exercised in a way entirely compatible with reality, as it is, for instance, in the mathematical sciences, which may thus be termed Narcissistic.

It is doubtless in this spirit that Ernest Jones speaks of the belief in immortality as "an originally Narcissistic conviction," which we extend to those we love or respect.² Lord Balfour has lately pointed out, though certainly without deliberate intention, how unconquerable the element of personal Narcissism has here become: "No man really supposes that he personally is nothing more than a changing group of electrical charges."³ As Dr. Malinowski, the penetrating psychologist of the savage mind, remarks in the same volume: "The more closely a case

¹ G. Róheim, *Spiegelsauber*, p. 113.

² E. Jones, *Papers on Psycho-analysis*, 2d. ed., p. 661. The opposite view, it need scarcely be pointed out, is at least equally tenable; that is to say that at the outset primitive man was more concerned with the persistence or the death of those he loved or feared or respected than with his own personal immortality.

³ *Science, Religion and Reality*, ed. by Joseph Needham, Sheldon Press, 1925.

has to do with the person who considers it, the less will it be 'natural,' the more 'magical.' "

Even yet we have not reached the limits to which it is now sought to extend the conception of Narcissism. All human efforts, and man's most sublime aspirations, are brought within the Narcissistic sphere. But it is further suggested that Narcissism extends far beyond Man, far beyond even the range of comparative psychology, and is the guiding motive of Nature herself. Thus Ferenczi, one of the most daring pioneers of psycho-analytic speculation, has hazardingly suggested that Narcissism is part of the process of evolution, not only in the formation of special organs, as in the apparatus for producing sounds and music, for instance, but in the whole process of evolution and adaptation to environment, which would thus be on a thoroughly Lamarckian foundation; and consequently Narcissism would be a factor also in pathology, concentrating the libido by a process he calls pathoneurosis into the imperilled part of the body for its repair in disease.

It will be seen that we have moved a long way since the days, only a few years ago, when the classic figure of Narcissus—the beautiful youth who gazed in the stream with desire at sight of his own image—was invoked to symbolize what seemed a rather rare and not specially profitable aspect of human invention.

VII.

UNDINISM.

"Toute civilisation consiste en somme à jouer
avec l'eau."

—JEAN GIRADOUX.

I.

The remote ancestors of Man, we cannot doubt, were salt-water animals. Their deepest experience of life was inextricably mingled with the contact and movement of salt water. That ancient fact is preserved in the whole constitution of human embryonic life, and in a few vestigial traces even in the adult, such being the ocular conjunctival fold called the *plica semi-lunaris*, a relic of the nictitating membrane which in fishes is needed to cleanse the eye in the water.¹ The future human being in the early stage is a rather frog-like creature which cannot breathe, though it may possess rudimentary gills, and passes its whole time in a medium of salt water,—so constituted by passing through the fetus's kidneys,—not to emerge until birth. In recent years a distinguished physiological investigator, René Quinton, has emphasized this function of salt water and shown its significantly beneficial influence even in human therapeutics today. The first animal cellules were of marine origin; the original marine environment remains the vital environment of the cells, even in vertebrates, even in Man. Sea water is the organic environment throughout the whole animal series. Quinton was thus prompted to propose the substitution of sea water for saline fluid when required for injection in the blood in medical treatment. Sea water is found to be isotonic with the corpuscles of the blood, so that it is the

¹ Most of the human embryonic structures reminiscent of fishes, such as gills, disappear in early development. But they are sometimes retained as abnormal adult features. See, for instance, Sir G. Bland Sutton, *Evolution and Disease*.

only medium in which the blood corpuscles can live for more than twenty-four hours, a very remarkable fact for it shows that sea water resembles the natural physiological serum of the blood, while, further, the salts of sea water are the same salts that are found in the body, and found, indeed, almost in the same proportion, except as regards the magnesium.¹

There can be no doubt that this fundamental organic significance of salt water has had a profound result on psychic disposition. The perpetual reverberation of that great primitive fact, constantly renewed in the developmental life of every individual, has imparted a rare emotional potency to water. Even in the highest civilization the charm of water, altogether apart from its utility, still persists, and water in some form or other makes a constant appeal to the poets. Indeed, "most of us," it has been said, "have a personal and intimate memory of some far-away brook or lake of our childhood."² It is a significant fact that these memories should especially belong to childhood.

In some regions this primitive association of the origin of Man with water has even become embodied in folk-lore, and in the beliefs of children, so that it is believed that babies come out of the water, or that the womb is a place of water. This is especially found in Germany, and German psycho-analysts have seen evidence in dreams of a symbolic connection between water and the womb, a connection which, as we know, really has a physiological basis. With regard to this wide-spread German idea that children come out of the water, Holmberg observes in his study of the water deities of northern peoples: "Schombach and Müller, among others, mention that it is very commonly believed that new-born infants come out of wells or

¹ René Quinton, *L'eau de Mer Milieu Organique*, 1904, and an earlier communication by the same writer to the Société de Biologie, May, 1898. J. Jarricot has written a large book on the therapeutical virtues of sea-water (*Le Dispensaire Marin: Un Organisme Nouveau de Périculture*, Masson, Paris, 1921) based on the doctrine that sea water stimulates metabolism, assists in removing noxious products, and places the cells in a favorable environment for the performance of their functions.

² Ellen Burns Sherman, "Writ in Water," *North American Review*, July 1914

ponds, and that in nearly every district there are special ponds or wells of which this is said. After mentioning several, they remark of one fountain that 'out of it a water-maiden fetches new-born children.' According to A. Wuttke, also, it is believed that human souls come out of fountains; 'in northern, central, and north-western Germany nearly every town has its Baby-well.'"¹ Holmberg adds that the origin of this idea has been variously explained and quotes Mogk as to its frequency in Saxony, especially in Hesse and Franken. It has become embodied in nursery-tales and associated with the stork and a lake full of babies.²

Nor is it only as an interest of childhood that water makes its appeal. It is also an adolescent and adult interest. It has, moreover, a more or less vaguely felt erotic appeal which is evidently normal because it is not only experienced in civilization but is also felt by primitive peoples. The erotic suggestion of the fountain has been admirably embodied in Jean Lahovary's poem, "La Vierge et le Jet d'Eau." A girl wanders in the moonlight along an avenue to a fountain basin from which a great jet of water rises up into the air and "scatters its liquid kisses." The young girl's monologue is reproduced, becoming more and more emotional, ever closer to suggestions of love, its ravishing pursuits, its plaintive or exalted murmurs, its visions of radiant unknown paths. She is ravished in thought and comes nearer,

¹ Uno Holmberg, *Die Wassergottheiten der Finnisch-Ugrischen Völker*, Helsinki, 1913, p. 269. Otto Rank (*Der Mythos von der Geburt der Helden*, 1922, pp. 97 et seq.) brings together a number of legends, etc., chiefly German, bearing on the connection between birth and a source in water.

² It seems that the bladder is sometimes involved in this theory, at all events in Germany. Thus a very intelligent hysterical patient (a married woman) of Marcinowski's, explaining in hypnosis a dream of her own of coitus on a ship, said: "Water is known to me in earlier dreams as a symbol of the mother's body. When a child, I looked upon the urinary opening as also the sexual opening, and I know that many others also do, and that many therefore believe that in coitus one goes into the bladder, as it were into the water, and that the belief thus naturally arises that children come out of the water." J. Marcinowski, *Zeitschrift f. psychoanalytische Forsch.*, Bd. v, 1913, p. 540.

—“quand soudain, tremblante autant qu’une herbe,
Le jet d’eau, triomphant, l’embrasse de sa gerbe.

. . . .
Ecoutez chanter l’âme de la fille
Qui connut l’amour du grand jet d’eau blanc.”¹

The intimate emotional potency of water, it cannot be doubted, is powerfully supported by the fact that even in the highest vertebrates a perpetually renewed fountain of salt water continues to bear witness to the marine environment which once surrounded our remote ancestors and is still needed to bathe and vitalize the cells in our own bodies. The periodic eruption of the urinary stream, manifesting itself in childhood with more or less involuntary force, is one of the most impressive facts of infantile life, the more so as at that age the volume of the stream, the energy of its expulsion,² and the extent to which vesical contraction fills the psychic field are relatively far greater than in later life. As puberty approaches, while the infantile urgency and impressiveness of the phenomenon may diminish, on the other hand it acquires a new interest and significance through the recognition of its intimate local association with the sexual life, and the facility with which it symbolizes, both physiologically and psychically, the sexual functions.

But puberty is also the period of development of the intellectual activities and the ideal aspirations. These seek to thrust into the background any preoccupation with urination as being trivial or unworthy. In large measure that repression is successful and the urinary interest is transformed into a sexual interest. Yet the earlier interest is not entirely abolished, being supported by the fact that it is based on a fundamental vital need of the organism; when suppressed it may be driven

¹ *Le Monde Nouveau*, 15 Jan., 1922. It may here be noted that among distinguished French writers Henri de Régnier has in his poems and novels constantly dwelt on the charm of water, especially in fountains, and occasionally in connection with urination.

² Little boys of 8 or 10, as may be noted in the street, are sometimes able, evidently by a deliberate effort, to urinate to a distance of between six and seven feet.

into the subconscious rather than completely transformed into the sexual; while in some cases its transformation is delayed or permanently inhibited, and in a yet larger number, it is effected but is incompletely effected. In these ways urination comes within the sphere of modesty, and tends to be guarded with the same sensitive care as the sexual functions. In these ways, also, it tends to acquire some of the same interest which belongs to these functions, to supply a similar material for curiosity, and at the same time to furnish a similar basis to the imagination.

An important factor in the psychic significance of urine is the extreme emotional sensitiveness of the bladder in its contractions as well as of the kidneys in secretion. This is a familiar fact in ordinary life in its main manifestations, since it is well known to all how an emotional stress, sometimes when only of a few moment's duration, may cause either increased urinary secretion or active contraction of the bladder.

In a paper on "The Bladder as a Dynamometer," published in the *American Journal of Dermatology* (May, 1902), I brought forward a systematic series of observations showing that the expulsive power of the bladder, when measured by the distance to which the stream can be expelled, is not only an index of individual energy but is subject to constant variations under the varying influences of daily life. A number of circumstances, including the state of the weather, were found to affect the expulsive energy of the bladder. Nervous depression tended to have a depressing vesical influence. A sea-bath had a powerful stimulating effect, sometimes not appearing at once but long prolonged. Placing the hands in cold water immediately beforehand also stimulated vesical energy, which accounts for the common experience of a wish to urinate following washing the hands. Sexual erethism was found to stimulate, and seminal emissions in sleep to diminish, vesical power. Both mental and physical exercise were stimulating. It was found that the energy of the bladder tends on the whole to rise during the day (though it must be remembered that the morning distention is not favorable to expulsive energy). No monthly curve was detected, but there was a weekly rhythm with a marked fall on Sundays, quickly recovering to a climax on Tuesdays. There was also a yearly curve, with a minimum in autumn, followed by a slow rise to a height maintained through the spring and reaching a climax in August. It was more

difficult to make observations on women but one series on a nulliparous woman of 32, of entirely feminine conformation and disposition, made with the subject lying on her back with separated nymphæ, showed as far as they went, concordant results. The average distance of the jet was 48 inches (which agrees with that of some women in the erect position) and the maximum, with very full bladder and some general excitement, as much as 75 inches, which indicates an energy probably not often exceeded by the female bladder.

It may be added that the experiments of Vurpas and Buvat on the vesical reactions of a number of more or less insane subjects showed that the more sane and intelligent the subject is the more delicate are the bladder reactions. (A. Vurpas and G. Buvat, "Contribution à l'Étude de la psycho-physiologie de la Vessie," *Rev. de Psychiatrie*, Dec., 1901.)

The sensitiveness of the bladder is, however, even greater than ordinary observation can indicate, for it responds in a minor degree to the faintest stimulus, to a touch or a word. This was clearly demonstrated by the classical experiments of Mosso and Pellacani on young girls in 1882. A catheter connected with a tube leading to a plethysmograph was inserted into the bladder, the subject lying quietly on her back, and it was found that the very slightest sensory emotional or mental stimulus could be measured and registered by its effect on the bladder. The conclusion was that "every psychic event and every mental effort is accompanied by a contraction of the bladder." There is no more delicate aesthesiometer in the whole body.¹

The bladder has in modern times been called "the mirror of the soul," while Elie Reclus mentions² that the Eskimo Innuït regard it as a chief seat of the soul. The Hebrews also, as appears from Driver's glossary, regard the kidneys as "the springs of feeling"; "thou hast possessed my kidneys" says the Hebrew Psalmist (139 v. 13), though, in English, we generally prefer to say "my heart."

¹ Mosso and Pellacani, *Arch. ital. de Biologie*, vol. i, 1882. H. Ellis, art. "Urinary Bladder, Influence of the Mind on the," Hack Tuke's *Dictionary of Psychological Medicine*, vol. ii.

² E. Reclus, *Primitive Folk*, p. 18.

We have here a root, and it may well be the chief root, of the mythic and magic significance of urine.¹ In some of its aspects, even though much transformed by tradition, even though never thus clearly recognized, water, in its deeper significance, is urine. Inversely expressed, urine is water *par excellence*, and in it are concentrated all the supernormal qualities of water. Pure water and urine, both alike derivatives from the ancient salt ocean which was the remote cradle of our primitive organic life, have reciprocally heightened each other's potent qualities. The more primitive man frankly accepts the sacredness of urine, for it is more personal and organic, more richly various in its constitution, and he dimly realizes, perhaps, that it is more approximate to the original ocean. The less primitive man, acquiring a new disgust for the physiologically natural, and at the same time developing a new symbolic conception of purity, tends to transfer all the qualities of urine to pure water. In Christendom this is so even today; Protestant and Catholic alike symbolize the purification and regeneration which every member of the Church must undergo in the sacred rite of Baptism by water. For those who believe they have outgrown the revelation of the ancient religions a belief in the symbolic significance of the ancient rites still often subsists. This is well illustrated, by Feuerbach who wrote eloquently of the deep and true significance of baptism regarded as a symbol of the value of water itself, not merely of its physical but its moral and intellectual effects. "In the stream of water the fever of selfishness is al-

¹ It is not easy to be sure that prehistoric and early historic man represented the act of urination in art, but the numerous rather crudely executed ancient bronze figures in which a man holds his hand—usually the left, which may be significant—to his penis, has suggested this act, though this explanation is not accepted by Saloman Reinach. (Bourke, Krauss, Ihm, *Der Unrat*, p. 516). In his *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, however (Tome II, p. 65), Reinach reproduces figures of Silenus with his left arm around a nymph who watches him while with averted face he holds his right hand to his penis. Of female figures the crouched Venus sometimes suggests the act of urination, as in a figure represented by Reinach (*op. cit.*, p. 372) in which the figure supports herself on her right heel and left foot and presses her hand against the inner part of her right thigh.

layed. Water is the readiest means of making friends with Nature. The bath is a sort of chemical process, in which our individuality is resolved into the objective life of Nature. The man rising from the water is a new, a regenerated man."¹

We can understand how it seemed reasonable to Stanley Hall, many years ago, to suppose that the influence of a life "that has been lived aquatically since its dawn should still make itself felt in the soul," and leave occasional faint traces of struggle, traces of love and traces of fear. "Deepest of all the feelings for water," he added, "is the old love, sometimes suddenly reinforced to the intensity of an imperative and uncontrollable impulse by the recrudescence of the archaic element."² He referred to the love and fear of water so common in children, and to the preference for suicide by drowning among women as due to the feminine organism being more conservative of archaic elements than the male. This may be connected with the greater tendency among women than among men of the psychic disposition we shall here be concerned with.

It is in this way that we may most easily explain the peculiarly attractive, potent, and sometimes magic qualities which, even in civilization, water may under certain conditions possess. Water for lustral purposes, conferring purity or effecting benediction, is found associated with the sacred rites of many peoples in various stages of culture in nearly all parts of the world. Among more primitive peoples, this lustral water may itself be urine, and even among peoples in higher stages of culture who employ water in sacred rites it undergoes modification which confers on it some property of urine. Salt, which to the primitive mind seems the essence of urine, acquires all sorts of magical properties in addition to its real

¹ Feuerbach, *The Essence of Christianity* (Eng. trans. by George Eliot), p. 272.

² Stanley Hall, "A Study of Fears," *Am. Jour. Psych.*, 1897, p. 169. A few years later Stanley Hall inspired a comprehensive study of "the influence that water has exerted in shaping and molding man's psychic organism, from the early days of his pelagic ancestry onwards" (F. E. Bolton, "Hydro-psychoses," *Am. Jour. Psych.*, Jan., 1899). This study touches on embryology, physiology, psychology, mythology, religion, philosophy, and folk-lore.

chemical qualities, as a result of its urinary origin or connection. It is on this ground added to water, and the Catholic church has always attached special virtues to salt and water.¹ Sometimes water is colored yellow in apparent imitation of urine. Sometimes the pure water alone retains the virtues which once belonged to urine. Thus in the opinion of many peoples water is the foe of evil demons as urine is among the Indians of some parts of North America. Water sometimes has the power to remove *tabu*. In India water has a strongly marked protective power, and sprinkling with water was an important part of Babylonian ritual. In Islam, the bride and the bridegroom are sometimes sprinkled with water as a protection against Satan, just as in some parts of Africa they were sprinkled with urine. Holy water, as Ernest Jones concludes, "is the direct descendant of urine."²

Among the Hottentots, when they first became known to Europeans, Peter Kolben described (and illustrated) how the "priest" (as he termed him) urinated on the bridegroom and then on the bride in the wedding ceremony.³ In the next century Mungo Park tells of his visit to a negro wedding in the Islamic region of Africa bordering the Great Desert. After he had returned to his hut "an old woman entered with a wooden bowl in her hand and signified that she had brought me a present from the bride. Before I could recover from the

¹ The Church borrowed this custom from the Greeks and the Romans who used salt and water as a purifying charm. Thus Theocritus (xxiv, 94) described the purificatory sprinkling on the ground of fountain water mixed with salt. See e.g., J. J. Blunt, *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs in Italy and Sicily*, p. 173.

² Ernest Jones, "Die Bedeutung des Salzes," *Imago*, Heft 5, Dec., 1912, and "The Symbolic Significance of Salt" in the same author's *Essays in Applied Psycho-analysis*, 1923, especially pp. 156-170. Cf. Goldziher, "Wasser als Dämonen abwehrendes Mittel," *Archiv. für Religionswissenschaft*, vol. xiii, Heft. 1, 1910, and Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, vol. i, Ch. XVI; Heino Pfannenschmid, *Das Weihwasser im heidnischen und christlichen Cultus*, 1869, pp. 166 et seq.

³ P. Kolben, *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, Nuremberg, 1719, p. 453. Capt. Cook later referred to this "nuptial benediction" of the Hottentots, Hawkesworth, *Account of Voyages*, 1775, vol. ii. p. 533. Wedding ceremonies with similar sprinkling with urine still existed more recently among the Namaqua, as was ascertained by Theophilus Hahn (quoted by G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Africa's*, 1872, p. 330.)

surprise which this message created, the woman discharged the contents of the bowl full in my face. Finding that it was the same sort of holy water with which among the Hottentots a priest is said to sprinkle a new married couple, I began to suspect that the old lady was actuated by mischief or malice; but she gave me seriously to understand that it was a nuptial benediction from the bride's own person; and which, on such occasions, is always received by the young unmarried Moors as a mark of distinguished favor. This being the case, I wiped my face, and sent my acknowledgments to the lady."¹ In Central Africa the king's bride cannot urinate too much, and the female attendant in the king's bedchamber must urinate and wet his feet before he may safely rise in the morning.² J. G. Bourke,³ refers to the Russian custom for the water in which the bride has washed her feet to be sprinkled on the bridal bed and over the guests, and to the old English custom for the bride to sell bride-ale, and it is suggested that all such customs are attenuations of the primitive customs associated with the magic qualities of nuptial urine, the priest's or the bride's, since, in the progress of civilization, a time was bound to come when prim spinsterly aunts would declare that the original rite was audacious, and, in fact, "quite disgusting."

It is not surprising that while along the line of orthodox religion, holy water, with the advance of civilization, has become completely dissociated from urine, along the line of magic and witchcraft the association continued. Thus in French ritual witchcraft the Devil used holy water which was sometimes urine, and with this all present were aspersed.⁴

The primitive religious use of urine extends beyond its

¹ Mungo Park, *Travels*, 1817, vol. i, p. 205.

² J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara*, pp. 92, 152.

³ *Scatalogic Rites of All Nations*, 1891, p. 231.

⁴ See, for instance, report of a case in Cologne, in 1614, as given by Miss M. A. Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe*, pp. 148, 248. Also Dufour, *Histoire de la Prostitution*, vol. v, p. 124, quoting De Lancre Montague Summers (*The History of Witchcraft and Demonology*, 1826, pp. 154, 171), again, refers to the use by witches in France of holy water

lustral employment as holy water; it enters, alike, into ceremonies of initiation and harvest festivals of generation. Thus in the Papuan Gulf, in initiation ceremonies, the chief stands over the youth and urinates into his mouth; having passed this test the youth becomes eligible as a warrior and enters the final stage of initiation.¹ In some regions drinking urine, as well as eating dung, was once an essential part of certain religious festivals connected with the harvest. According to Preuss, a goddess was termed the Dung Eater, and those who incarnated her must follow her example, at the same time being drunk and exercising coitus. In a similar spirit German folk-lore terms the Corn-mother the "great whore."²

If we take a wider view of the psychic place of water in the history of civilization, it would appear that at many of the chief places of origin of the higher human cultures—Egypt, India, Persia, Greece³—water was often regarded, by a premonition of the modern scientific view of the pelagic origin of life, as the source of all things. This belief was sometimes erotically tinged; Venus (Anadyomene) arose from the sea, and the classic nymphs had erotic associations, which are preserved and emphasized in the term nymphomania, while the connection of public baths with prostitution, which began in classic times and was pronounced in medieval times, is hardly yet extinct. Iwan Bloch, in his history of prostitution, deals with the original place of the bath as an adjunct of sexual intercourse and its subsequent association with prostitution; the flourishing period of bath-prostitution in Rome was at the end of the Republic with the introduction of mixed bathing (*balnea mixta*) by Agrippa, B. C. 32.⁴

¹ Rev. J. Holmes, *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, 1902, p. 424.

² K. Th. Preuss, *Globus*, vol. lxxxvi, 1904, p. 356.

³ Forchhammer in his *Hellenika* insisted on the influence of water on the Greek mind. He has since sometimes been held to have exaggerated this influence, and his views are now in part antiquated. But the influence of water was certainly great, especially on Greek philosophy. (See, e.g., Bolton, *Am. Jour. Psych.*, Jan., 1899, pp. 189-195). When we recall that the Greeks were a sea-faring people, almost surrounded by the sea, and never more than a few miles away from it, this influence cannot be surprising.

The more widely we observe the influence of water the more frequently we find that the special representative and symbol of water is held to be the urine. This is specially to be observed in the conception of cosmic phenomena. Thus in myth, saga, popular belief and speech, the analogy of rain with urine is familiar. Rain is indeed, as Ehrenreich has observed, with striking frequency conceived as the excretion (not always urine but sometimes sweat or spittle) of a heavenly being.¹ In many parts of the world, indeed, rain is regarded as the urination of a divine being, more usually though not always feminine, to whom is sometimes attributed the origin of seas and rivers in this way. (Young children, similarly, as Rank remarks with illustrations, often have the same idea.) Among some of the old Australian aborigines of Victoria, according to Brough Smyth, there was a belief in a primitive Deluge, when the great Bundjal, being angry with men, urinated abundantly for many days until all were drowned save a man and woman who were preserved to carry on the human race.² Among the American Indians, especially as Boas has shown, in the sagas of the Indians of British Columbia, urination plays a large part. In South America, Alexander von Humboldt mentioned in his *Kosmos*, some Indian tribes call meteors "the urine of the stars," while the ancient Mexicans represented the Butterfly goddess of fire, Itzpapalotl, as urinating, while the two Bird-goddesses, and the Dog-god, Xolotl, are also represented as urinating Divine Water for the benefit of vegetation.³ Similar conceptions may be traced more ob-

¹ Ehrenreich, *Die Allgem. Mythologie*, 1910, p. 140, quoted by O. Rank, "Ein Traum der sich selbst deutet," *Jahrb. f. psychoanal. Forschungen*, Bd. ii, 1910, p. 532, and also in "Die Symbolschichtung in mythischen Denken," *Psychoanalytische Beiträge zur Mythenforschung*, 1919.

² Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i, p. 429; and see Van Gennep, *Mythes et Légendes d'Australie*, p. 88.

³ K. Th. Preuss, "Der Ursprung der Religion und Kunst," *Globus*, Bd. 86, 1904, p. 355. Father Joseph de Acosta in the sixteenth century (*Natural and Moral History of the Indians*, Bk. v, Ch. XXVII, translated by Grimston) said that the Mexicans were accustomed not only to eat and drink in honor of the gods but "also to piss in the honor of them." In the Great Atlas the exposure of a woman's urinary organs

scurely in the ancient religions of the old world. Goldziher derives the Arabic name, Kuzah, for the god of weather and rain from a word signifying to urinate, while the Hebrew word *bûl*, rain, may be connected with the Arabic *bala* to urinate.¹ It has been held that the legend of the origin of Orion implied urination of the gods, and though this opinion is regarded as etymologically false, it may still, Otto Rank remarks, possess a psychological rightness, and the Greek word for urination united the ideas of emitting both urine and semen, thus still further emphasizing the idea of impregnating the earth.² In folk-lore Preuss refers to popular sayings in East Prussia which indicate the continued existence of the primitive belief that urine is the source of rain, and he considers that the Manneken-Pis at Brussels has a like reference to the same connection. Rank refers to the German word *schiffen*, to urinate, as being also used for rain, and in the paper already referred to, psychoanalysing a normal young woman, he finds that rain may stand for urine. Marconowski's hysterical patient, also, once dreamed of her little girl (standing for herself, as often happens in dreams) with a stream of urine flowing from her drawers, while the child was soaked with rain, urine, and tears.³

The psychic connection between rain and urine, moreover, may be two-sided. A friend tells me that having drunk more than usual in the evening she was awakened, without any conscious dream, by the need to relieve a full bladder and, then, retiring to bed and falling asleep again, she dreamed she was in the house of a friend, a doctor, near which she had passed the previous day, and had so strong a desire to urinate that she asked the doctor if she could go into his lavatory; he

aids the rites for obtaining rain (Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. ii, p. 271.)

¹ Goldziher, *Der Mythos bei der Hebräern*, p. 89, quoted by Rank.

² A. Berny, *Imago*, 1913, Heft 6, p. 543; O. Rank, *Psychoanalytische Beiträge zur Mythenforschung*, p. 102.

³ She was accustomed to regard the desire to urinate as a sign of sexual excitement, and Marconowski would view all these three forms of water (after the manner cherished by psycho-analysts) as symbols of semen.

replied this was impossible as it was being removed by workmen, and as he made no suggestion as to what she should do instead and she felt unable to control herself longer, she went into the front garden and immediately felt herself urinating as she stood outside the door. She awoke with some anxiety as to what had taken place in bed, and found no desire whatever to urinate, but rain was falling fast, and through a leak in the roof dripping on the floor of the room. Thus, not only may rain be the symbol of urine but urine the symbol of rain.

When we recall ancient beliefs and the associations of urine it is easy to understand why, especially among the young, urine should be identified with semen. C. G. Jung has referred to a girl of eleven who imagined that the husband urinates into the wife and that the embryo is thus formed. She had a dream of rain and storm and a stork connected with this belief, which has archaic and mythological associations.¹ Frink similarly tells of a young married woman in America, with an intense longing for a child, who had a craving at times to go out in the rain; when thoroughly soaked she would return home greatly relieved and satisfied. As a girl of 8, an elder girl offered to explain to her how children are made, and, instructing her to lie down with raised skirts, lay down on top of her and discharged a stream of urine against her genitals. Naturally this method received support from the patient's knowledge that water "makes things grow."²

It is in this way that the attraction of urine for the primitive mind becomes subtly blended with the attraction of water. Behind that physiological source of water which man found in himself lay a subconscious sense of the beneficent and emancipating mystery of Nature's rain and oceans and rivers. Behind the natural sources of water in the world, on the other hand, lay a subconscious sense of the intimate personal mystery of this human stream, inevitably tinged by the place of its origin with generative and erotic associations. To the primitive mind,

¹ C. G. Jung, *Jahrbuch f. psychoanalyt. Forsch.*, vol. v, 1913, p. 436.

² H. W. Frink, *Cornell Univ. Med. Bull.*, Oct., 1914.

too closely in contact with great natural facts to be touched by the refined disgusto of civilization, the urinary stream became a beautiful and sacred symbol. We shall meet with the suggestion that in the device of the fountain we have an attempt to imitate the stream of which human beings are the source, and the suggestion is perhaps not so absurd as at first it may seem. To the primitive and popular mind even today the fountain-like jet of a streamlet suggests urination, and this analogy is sometimes embodied in the names given to such streamlets; thus the jets which gush out from the cliffs near Etretat in Normandy are named "Les Pisseuses."¹ There is a "Cascade de Pisse-Vache" between Geneva and the Simplon. An "Ode à Pissefontaine" is included by Paul Fort in his *Tristesse de l'Homme*.

The opinion that the fountain of human art was suggested by the human urinary fountain and originally intended to imitate it was put forth by Sadger in the important study of urinary eroticism to which it will later be necessary to refer. "Fountains," he asserted, "are merely an imitation of the urinary stream." One's immediate response to this view is not favorable. But on consideration there is much to be said for it. We have clearly to recognize that to the natural human mind, and still constantly to children, a little stream leaping out of its channels suggests, and is itself suggested by, the human urinary stream; this is indicated by ancient philology and is instinctively felt by modern children. Thus an American lady remarks to me that as a girl she liked looking at fountains but did not like anyone to see her doing so because she was conscious the fountain had an attractive resemblance to the act of urination. An English lady of pronounced urolagnic disposition writes: "The attraction of water running into water

¹ In English, by a reverse association of ideas, the name Piddle which was formerly used in England to designate a stream or small river, has become attached among the feminine inhabitants of rural regions to the act of urination, to the complete exclusion of its chief and earlier sense, so that the inhabitants of Piddletown in Dorsetshire have in recent years sought to confer refinement on their town by calling it "Puddletown."

is, I suppose, universally admitted. In designs for fountains we frequently find a mass of center figures giving forth in some fashion or another jets of water that descend in elegant sprays into a basin of still water below. The charm of this is felt by most persons. Unconsciously perhaps we aimed at this effect when as children we urinated in the bath or better still out in the open in some secluded spot in the wood, where there was a brook. It is of course difficult to say how common this liking for urination and water may be since the persons most in secret enjoyment of it are just those most likely to be secretive." It is significant that throughout its known history the fountain of artificial device tends to have the closest possible resemblance, alike in size and in curve, to the urinary stream. We do not know who invented artificial fountains.¹ But their characteristics are the same at the earliest point at which we can observe them. No doubt they would only become common at a period in civilization when luxury and refinement were beginning to appear, that is to say at a period when the urinary stream was beginning to be thought indecent in an untransformed shape, and not decorous to represent literally, even in marble, except in children. Since Sadger's opinion was put forward I have noticed in San Vitale at Ravenna, on the left as one faces the choir apse, a large and beautiful bas relief (facing a corresponding one on the opposite side of the entrance to the apse), said to be taken from a frieze in the Roman temple of Neptune; two children, apparently boys, act as caryatids to support a platform on which are smaller children

¹ The earliest artificial fountain mentioned in the article "Fountain" of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is a carved Babylonian basin, of about B.C. 3000, found at Tello, the ancient Lagash, while Layard mentions an Assyrian fountain he found in the gorge of the river Gornel. They were very common in Greece, and dedicated not only to nymphs but to gods, goddesses, and heroes. The nymph Piren shed such copious tears over her son slain by Orion, that she was changed into a fountain, an example of another physiological association of the fountain. At Corinth a statue of Poseidon stood on a dolphin from which the water issued, a kind of imagery frequently revived in the Italian Renaissance. The famous fountain of Callirrhoe at Athens was directed through nine pipes and was elegantly appointed as seen depicted on Greek vases. It still runs, though now it has become sordid and we may often see washerwomen of

with shells and tridents. Both the larger children have had their sexual organs struck out and this has revealed in each a hole corresponding to the urethra (one filled up by a black rod). It would appear that, at one time at all events, these children were fountains. The attitude of the children is entirely consistent with this view, especially that of the boy on the left, whose hands rest on his slightly separated thighs, while his face expresses attention; the other child stands with crossed arms. It is scarcely necessary to refer to the famous Manneken-Pis of Brussels, executed in the seventeenth century by François Dufresnoy, a sculptor of high distinction (born at Brussels and an enthusiastic student of the Renaissance in Rome), but probably continuing a much more ancient idea since this fountain is invested with an almost sacred character. The accepted Belgian legend, however, as given by Otto Rank (following Wolf) is that when Brussels was still a small town a nobleman of the place had an only son who as a punishment for his father's offense in making violent love to the patron saint of the town, and the boy's own impertinence in urinating against the door of a holy hermit's cell, was condemned never to grow up but to be turned into a stone image and to urinate forever.¹

The almost complete absence from statuary art of the posture of urination in women (unless we except the figures of the "Crouching Venus") is naturally to be associated with the fact that at the time when European conventions in art were formed that posture was, as largely it still is, the humble squatting attitude which seldom lends itself easily to art. But it would be a mistake to suppose that that attitude has been everywhere and always customary with women, just as it would be a mistake to conclude from

¹ There is an extensive literature concerning the Manneken-Pis. See Bourke, Krauss, and Ihm, *Der Unrat*, p. 509; Otto Rank, *Ztblit. f. Psychoanalyse*, Heft 12, 1911, p. 578; and especially Dr. G. Vorberg, "Manneken-Pis," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, 1923, Heft 1. Vorberg refers to a counterpart of the Manneken-Pis formerly in Brussels, Les Trois Pucelles, three girls in stone, squatting to urinate and supplying water to the quarter of the Place des Trois Pucelles. When they became dilapidated they were replaced by three girls standing erect with streams issuing from their breasts, and these later were replaced by a simple corner-stone stream. The name of the Place was then altered to *Marché aux Tripes*.

prevalent European custom that the erect attitude has been everywhere and always prevalent among men. As a matter of fact there are widespread variations, though it is comparatively rare for both men and women to adopt the same attitude, and with the usual sexual contrariness, where the women adopt one attitude the men tend to adopt another, or *vice versa*. J. G. Bourke in his *Scatologic Rites of all Nations* (1891, pp. 148 *et seq.*, G. Friederici, *Beiträge zur Völker-und Sprachenkunde von Deutsch-Neuguinea in Mittheilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten*, No. 5, Berlin, 1912, pp. 62-3; also Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, 6th ed., pp. 78-9, brought together some of the variations in different parts of the world, but it may be worth while here to give a further account of the matter.

We are instinctively inclined in such matters to regard our own prevalent customs as the proper and "natural" method of the higher civilized races. But if we go back to Egypt we find Herodotus (Bk. ii, Ch. XXXV), after stating that "Egypt claims our admiration beyond all other countries," bringing forward the evidence to show that women enjoyed a freer and more active life than elsewhere, and mentioning that "women stand erect to make water, the men stoop." (This seems to indicate that the Greek custom was opposite, though Hesiod says that a man should squat if not standing against a wall.) In another ancient centre of culture, Ireland, where also it may be said that women occupied an important place, Giraldus Cambrensis stated in his *Topographia Hibernica* (*Opera*, 1867, vol. v, p. 172) that "the men discharge their urine sitting; the women standing."

It may indeed be said that all round the world the primitive custom seems generally to have been the reverse of that which we have come to regard as normal: the women stand and very often the men squat. It was not only so among peoples like the Egyptians whom we place high in the scale of cultures but still more among the most primitive peoples. Thus among the Australians the native men in their aboriginal condition invariably squatted to urinate; this custom was rendered almost necessary by the *Mika* operation of splitting the penis, though Basedow states (*Jour. Anth. Inst.*, 1927, p. 146) that among the sub-incised tribes both men and women either stand or squat. But the native Australian women in many regions stood to urinate. This was noted by the earliest scientific investigator of the intimate customs of the Australian aborigines, Miklucho-Maclay (*Zt. f. Ethnologie*, 1880, p. 86). Carl Lumholtz made a similar observation. In South Australia, Lindsay Crawford states (*Jour. Anth. Inst.*, Nov., 1894, p. 180) that while the men squat the women stand, spreading their legs open. In Victoria, Mr. Justin Curr (son of the well-known writer on the aborigines, Edward

natives in their wild state told him that while the men squat there was no general rule among the women who would sometimes squat and sometimes stand. In Queensland, Dr. W. Roth states (*Ethnological Studies of the Queensland Aborigines*, 1897, p. 184) both sexes always adopt the squatting position in micturition, scratching up a few handfuls of earth for this purpose (and not for defecation only), afterwards covering the spot with earth, and using sand to cleanse the person with. When camping small mounds of earth are made, scooped out at the top like a miniature volcano and beaten down, holding at least a quart; this is for the women to urinate into. In the Trobriand Islands of New Guinea, Dr. Malinowski informs me, the men now stand to urinate, the women stand or squat. In New Zealand, Mr. Edward Tregear, the leading authority on the Maoris, wrote to me in 1892: "It is quite useless for a modern observer to give any valuable evidence on this point as to New Zealand or Polynesia; the adoption of garments introduced by Europeans has altered the native custom. In New Zealand it is *now* invariably the rule for both sexes to squat down while urinating, that is, if wearing mats or blankets. In old days, although waist mats and shoulder mats were the common dress of men and women, the working and fighting dress was the *maro* or girdle, consisting of plaited string tied round the waist, to which strips of flax or tassels of fibre were suspended; it is the common waist-girdle of the savage, although the New Zealander's love of beauty led him to refine his fringe. The women's often come to the middle of the calf, the men's to about two inches above the knee. The Maori men, who squat to urinate, have often told me that they thought European men fools to stand up to urinate as in that position the bladder is not completely emptied, and, they say, gravel results. It was common for the women to urinate standing; a Maori told me he has seen his nurse do it a hundred times. The natural position of the sexual organs makes it possible for a woman to urinate standing without wetting her clothes or exposing herself, but a man in a mat or robe would have to expose himself or wet his mat." It may be added that at Tanna in the New Hebrides, the present practice is for the men to stand in micturition while the women and children sit (*Jour Anth. Institute*, 1898, p. 129).

In China in old times it was the custom for men to urinate standing; at all events that is what we are told by the Mohammedan traveller in China, Soleyman, as recorded by Hasan Ibn Yazid in the ninth century (*Relations des Voyages*, tr. by Reinaud, 1845, vol. i, p. 118). "The Chinese," it is here reported, "urinate standing. Such is the custom of the people among the natives. As for governors,

and open at both ends, sufficiently large to introduce the penis. When one wants to make water, therefore, one stands and turning the tube away from oneself, one discharges the urine. The Chinese declare that this method of urinating is more salutary for the body, and the disorders of the bladder, especially stone, are solely due to squatting to urinate, adding that the bladder cannot be completely discharged unless one performs the operation standing." It is not stated whether women adopted the same attitude. At the present time, according to Friederici, the attitude for men, at all events in North China, and the Canton Swatow region, is usually squatting. In Japan it is the women who usually adopt the upright attitude for urination, according to Wernich, quoted by Ploss in *Das Weib*, and he attributed it to a peculiarity in the Japanese feminine urethra. William Anderson, the surgeon, my teacher in anatomy and still well known for his collection of Japanese art, informed me that Wernich was correct in his fact but not in his explanation, as there was nothing peculiar in the Japanese feminine urethra; "the erect posture," he wrote, "appeared to me a more convenient one for women in consequence of the tightness with which the skirts embrace the legs and the difficulty so opposed to raising the skirts." But he added that it might be, as I had suggested, a survival of primitive custom, like the Japanese attitude in parturition. In Ceylon also the Tamil man squats to urinate, the woman stands, a resident medical man informs me, and the same statement is made in *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology*, vol. i, p. 96. In Sumatra, as another doctor tells me, the men often squat to urinate, and never open their *sarong* or trousers for this purpose, believing that it is dangerous to expose the penis, or rather scrotum, and might lead to impotence; the women also squat to urinate and keep their legs close together in the act.

As regards Africa the custom of the sexes in urination in ancient Egypt has already been mentioned. At the present day, while the old custom has not completely died out, and Egyptian fellahéen women, Sudanese women and Abyssinian women, I am told by a Cairo hospital surgeon, sometimes adopt the erect position, the prevalent position is that of squatting; and at the hospital all the sanitary arrangements are of this kind and there is an attendant servant to show patients where and how to micturate and defecate. It must be remembered that the general Moslem custom is for both sexes to squat to urinate and with the progressive march of Islam in Africa this custom has become widespread. The precepts of the Koran enjoin this position on good Mussulmans and an act of ablution should follow. Minute instructions are given by Sidi-Kelil and

India and Persia, 1672-1681, Hakluyt Society, vol. i, p. 94), says: "Among them all it is common to make water sitting, as when they evacuate the other way, and it is a shame for anyone to be seen otherwise, they sarcastically saying, Such a one pisses like a Dog (which is held unclean) standing"; and elsewhere he states with regard to the women squatting to urinate: "Nor do the women scruple to do their Occasions in Publick streets or Highways, going hand in hand for that purpose at Set-times of the day, and if any pass by in the interim will turn their bare Backside upon them, but will hide their Faces; and this at Sun-rise and Sun-set every day they do in Drovers, Men by themselves and Women by themselves." He adds that they use the left hand for the subsequent ablution, "because they feed themselves with the right." In Morocco, I have noted, it is common for a little group of Women to squat for this purpose only a few steps off the public path, but quite modestly and without raising the garments, so that they feel no need to show any embarrassment. The men do the same, though not in groups. In British Central Africa, Sir H. H. Johnston (*British Central Africa*, p. 406) states that, except when Mohammedanism has introduced the squatting posture, the men stand, the women squat. But Dr. Stannus (*Jour. Anih. Inst.*, vol. xl, 1910, p. 288) states that, at all events south of Lake Nyassa in British Central Africa, among mixed peoples of Bantu stock, the men usually squat to urinate, while the women kneel, a rare modification of the erect attitude. But in some parts of Africa untouched by Islam, it would seem that what is perhaps the more primitive attitude is still preserved. Thus P. Reichard (*Ausland*, vol. lxiii, p. 428), states that among Negroes in some regions the men always squat and the women always stand. The Kavirondo women in East Africa, a medical man tells me, always urinate standing, and sometimes as they walk. In Angola, according to Bourke, both sexes stand to urinate.

It is, however, when we turn to America that we find the most convincing evidence of the existence of that sexual distinction in the posture for urination which I am inclined to believe indicates primitive custom all over the world. Everywhere else we find occasional evidence, especially when we are able to look far back, that the men squat and the women stand, but in America nearly all the evidence from the extreme north down to South America indicates the general prevalence of the custom, which may well have been the custom which the early inhabitants of America carried with them from the early home of Man, whether (with Osborn) we place the early home in Central Asian plateaus or elsewhere. Writing of the Eskimo of Hudson's Bay, Henry Ellis (*A Voyage to Hudson's Bay in 1746 and 1747*, p. 198) remarks: "They differ from almost all other nations in

their manner of making urine; for here the men always squat down and the women stand upright." Frère Sagard in his *Histoire du Canada* in 1636 (reprint of 1866, vol. i, p. 179), writing apparently of the Hurons at Kebec and describing them in their canoes, says: "I admired the honesty of their action in making water, for besides retiring aside they squat down with much modesty, in the manner of the ancient men of Egypt, in this more polite and honest than their women, who for this purpose stand upright, without going much aside." The Apache men, Bourke states, always squat to urinate, while the women always stand; he adds that the Mojaves of the Rio Colorado follow the same rule. George Alsop in his book dating from 1666, *A Character of the Province of Maryland* (reprint of Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, 1880, p. 81), writes of the naked Susquehannas of Maryland: "It doth not become any man to piss running or eating. These Pagan men naturally observe the same Rule; for they are so far from running, that, like a Hare, they squat to the ground as low as they can, while the Women stand bolt upright with their arms a-Kimbo, performing the same action, in so confident and obscene a posture as if they had taken their Degrees of Entrance at Venice," in other words as if they were courtesans. But Alsop was a wild and roystering youth, and it is scarcely necessary to remark that European prejudices have led him into injustice. He had himself just pointed out that the Susquehanna women are modest, chaste, and faithful to their husbands. So also in Florida, and Captain Bernard Romans wrote in 1775 in his *Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (vol. i, p. 42): "A savage man discharges his urine in a sitting posture and a savage woman standing." Lionel Wafer at the Isthmus of Darien in 1699 (*A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 141) neglects to mention the women but says of the men that they are ordinarily quite naked but wear a penis-case, of silver or gold or at least of a plaintain leaf, fastened by a string round the waist. "They leave the scrotum exposed, having no sense of shame with reference to that, as they have with respect to the penis, which they never show uncovered; but the men will turn away their faces even from one another, if by any accident it be uncovered; and when they would make water, they turn their backs to their companions, and squatting down, slip off the funnel with one hand, and, having done, put it on again very nimbly." (It may be remarked that the use of the penis-case here and in other parts of the world has been well and fully discussed by Friederici, *op cit*, pp. 154 *et seq.*) He adds that, with regard to defecation, "they have a great sense of shame," and both men and women go down to the river for this purpose; "and in general they are both a modest and a charming people." Pierre Barrère (*Nouvelle Relation de la France Equinoxiale*, 1743, p.

164) says likewise of the Indian men of Guiana that they squat to urinate. Of the Indians of Nicaragua, Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, writing in the middle of the sixteenth century (*Historia General y Natural de las Indias* (Madrid, 1855, vol. iv, p. 38), says that the men squat to urinate and the women stand, doing this wherever the need takes them. I am not acquainted with other references to the custom in South America, but it seems probable that the general practice was the same in the south as in the north. I may add, however, that I hear from an Englishman long resident in a rural district of Bolivia that he there sometimes observed a woman, without attempt to avoid observation, lift up, while she walked, the numerous petticoats which Spanish women wear, tuck them round her waist, and proceed to urinate while still walking.

At the present time in civilized countries, there is a general recognition among men that the erect attitude is to be preferred. It is probable that the primitive attitude for men to squat for urination was associated with magic terrors and fears of exposure that were not primarily concerned with modesty but with the preservation of the generative functions. We seem to see a lingering trace of this even in Greek civilization at the period of Hesiod who enjoined the avoidance of exposure during urination lest any divinity should be offended. But these fears would not be evoked in women who had no penis to expose, so that for them the squatting position would not be adopted until the closed garment or the supposed claims of modesty made it desirable or imperative. At the present time there is among civilized women a tendency to abandon the squatting position so long ago given up by civilized men. This need not be regarded (though by some it has been so regarded) as a sign of the masculinization, or still less the homosexualization, of women, but rather as part of the tendency to the social approximation of the sexes which marks civilization generally. (In the days of the Roman Empire women were gaining many of the rights and freedoms of men, and if we may judge by what Juvenal says of some ladies they were adopting the custom of urinating in the erect position, though, as we should expect, that old-fashioned satirist disapproved of the practice.) It is largely based on practical and hygienic considerations, and the risks of dirty public conveniences are now recognized, while the serious accidents due to sitting on chamber vessels are familiar to all medical men. In January, 1910, *The British Medical Journal* published an editorial note advocating the provision at railway stations for urinals for women, in a similar way as for men, and numerous doctors supported this proposal, while "A Doctor's Wife" wrote (in too unqualified a way) that "we all stand." From a letter in this *Journal* (15 Jan.) I quote: "Apart from the fact that an arrangement of this kind, by saving time, would be a boon to women who

are in nervous haste to catch a train, it is very unjust that women who are usually less able to afford it, should be called upon to pay a tax which is never (since the days of Vespasian) demanded from men. All the tendencies of our civilization are in the direction of giving the same rights and privileges to women as to men; in this department, at all events, no one can grudge women their claim to equality of opportunity." The Railway Companies were induced to take up the matter, but not many arrangements of the sort desired were introduced, as it was found at that time that most women were still, even when their garments permitted, too conservative or too awkward to appreciate the change.

We do not seem to find among the remains of antiquity a completely feminine statue presiding over a urinary stream, in part doubtless because a penis better lends itself to this device, but largely because the erect position for urination was not at the period the traditional position. But we find a very near approach to it in a hermaphroditic statue of considerable artistic quality in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. It is 1 m. 20 in height and is placed on a pedestal in which there are three steps. The right thigh is slightly raised, probably to support a shell or bowl born by the two hands which are extended forwards. Head, hair-dress, breasts, and contours, are entirely feminine, but the small sexual organs are ithyphallic, the penis transmitting a jet of water to fall into the shell or bowl. Behind and above the head is a lyre-like ornament ending above in a single horn which evidently acted as a conduit for the water. "Here we have a Manneken-Pis," remark Amelung and Hülsen, in communicating the facts to Reinach, "not the only one antiquity has bequeathed to us, but doubtless the only one of this type." Reinach considers that the motive is Syrian or Alexandrian.¹

Among the abundant public fountains of southern Europe, largely of Renaissance origin and not seldom beautiful and

¹ S. Reinach, *Cultes Mythes et Religions*, vol. ii. An illustration of the statuette is here given. Prof. Hans Licht has dealt with the indications of urination in Greek art ("Skatologisches in Griechenland," *Zt. für Sexualwiss.*, March, 1927) and refers, for instance, to a vase in Berlin where a girl points to a scaphion (the boat-shaped vessel used by women) which a handsome youth hastens to bring to her.

elaborate, we cannot expect to find much evidence of actual representation of the urinary stream. But the suggestion of such representation is common and sometimes very close. This is well illustrated by Ammanati's colossal Fontana del Nettuno in the Piazza della Signoria in Florence, a sixteenth century work of the school of Giovanni da Bologna, the famous Douai sculptor. Here we see Neptune above, with Tritons, Nereids, and Dolphins below. The Neptune shows a stream proceeding from between his legs just below the penis, though bubbling up rather than flowing down, and there are others around, while one of the sea-goddesses has a dolphin from whose mouth pours a stream corresponding in size and curve to what her own might be and in some aspects appearing to come from her.

At Bologna we may see in the Piazza del Nettuno a fountain by Giovanni himself (erected 1563-7) which, even more clearly than that of his pupil at Florence, suggests multiple urinary streams. The four Nereids at the angles of the base send out streams from their breasts which their hands are squeezing, but between their thighs are dolphins which emit streams sideways from their mouths. Higher up at the angles of the pedestal on which Neptune stands four boys sit holding dolphins which emit streams from their mouths though from a side aspect they easily appear urinary. From Neptune's feet spring four small jets rising as high as his head, but one of the jets strikes his penis and drips down thence. It seems evident that the sculptor desired to refrain from shocking the spectator's modesty by too direct a representation of the urinary stream, while yet he has been constantly preoccupied with the effort to approach as nearly as possible to such representation.

Again at Bologna, in the fountain in the courtyard of the Palazzo Galvani (now the Museo Civico), I note the little boy who firmly puts forward his foot to press on the wine-skin resting on the pedestal between his legs, which sends up a curved stream such as little boys love to emit for themselves. Here, once more, we see the artist obviously inventing an ingenious method of attaining an end

which he feels debarred from reaching by the direct and obvious method.¹ But it was sometimes reached and Falda represents the Fontana di Venere, a Baroque structure in Rome, with two children from whose sex organs large streams jet forth.

It is worth while noting that the term "fountain" was used in connection with the human body at a very early period, possibly before Man began to make artificial fountains in the image of those of Nature. The human fountain gained significance at this early period because it had become the symbol of the sexual function to which it was so closely joined. This is clearly revealed in many passages of the Bible and other sacred writings of the Jews, as well as in the sayings of numerous peoples in various parts of the world. In Leviticus (Ch. 20: v. 18) we hear of uncovering "a woman's fountain," by which is clearly meant the vulva. Elsewhere a woman herself is referred to as a "fountain." Sarah was a cistern from which Israel flowed, and the heroine of the *Song of Songs* a fountain of living waters. Among the Romans, as well as in more remote lands, an identity between women and fountains is assumed. In men, also, the "stream" is likewise spoken of by the Hebrews and other peoples in a sense that was intended to express the seminal and procreative power. In the Talmud it is said: "His semen was like a running stream," and the Romans also used the word "water" for semen². The custom of regarding semen as "water," or at all events of so speaking of it, is indeed widespread, and we can scarcely help associating it with the belief that water itself may suffice to fertilize a woman. This belief is found as far away as New Guinea, and Mali-

¹ Sadger refers to Hermann's Brunnenbuberl and the Tugendbrunn at Nuremberg, where women send out streams from their breasts, as belonging to the same sphere of ideas. Occasional papers on scattered fountains have been written, and in 1675 G. B. Falda published a large illustrated work, *Le Fontane di Roma*, but a comprehensive and systematic study of fountains seems never yet to have been attempted.

² Ludwig Levy, "Die Sexualsymbolik der Bibel und des Talmuds," *Zt. f. Sexualwissenschaft*, Nov., 1914.

nowski refers to a cycle of beliefs and ideas about reincarnation in the Trobriand Islands which imply an association between the sea and spirit-children. Mature unmarried girls have to observe precautions, on this account, when bathing. There is, indeed, here believed to be an association between ordinary conception and bathing; the *wairwaia* (the embryo or river-incarnated spirit-child) most usually, it is thought, entering a woman while bathing.¹

It is not surprising that in connection with the sacred and mythological qualities of urine we should also find in nearly all stages of culture a tendency to attribute to it magic qualities. This may, for instance, be frequently noted in the legends of the Indians of the northwest coast. Thus in one of these a woman gives her lover some of her urine and says: "You may wake the dead if you drop some of my urine in their ears and nose."² In Australia and among the now extinct Tasmanians, special virtues, it is said, were attributed to the urine of women. Among the Salish Indians of British Columbia, according to Hill Tout, in one story a young woman married to an owl begs to be allowed to come down from the tree to the earth to make water, and then escapes home, bidding her urine to tell her owl-husband that she is not yet ready to come up to him.³ Among the Tamans of Burma (who are considered to be probably of Chinese origin), "if a man wanted to turn himself into a tiger he made water on the ground, stripped himself, and rolled in the earth he had wetted. He could then fight and kill other tigers."⁴

¹ *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, vol. xlv, 1916, p. 404.

² Boas, *Zt. für Ethnologie*, 1894, Heft 4, p. 293. The power of urine is frequently referred to in these legends. They were collected among the Indians in British Columbia and the north Pacific Coast, and among the Eskimo, by Dr. Boas, and have so far been published in full only in German in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* from 1891 to 1895. The editor of the yearly reports of the Washington Bureau of Ethnology, Dr. Boas states, refused to publish these innocent and primitive stories, which are of much scientific value, in full, as being unsuited to the character of that publication. A sad confession!

³ Hill Tout, *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, July-Dec., 1904, p. 347.

⁴ R. Grant Brown, *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, vol. xli, 1911, p. 306.

In Morocco, Westermarck, in his *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, enumerates many magical properties of urine, and there are all sorts of occasions, times, and ways in which urination must be avoided by good Moslems.

The Jews, who have devoutly preserved so many ancient beliefs, have attached many magic properties to urine. As among all peoples, says Ludwig Blau, it plays an important part among them. "It breaks every charm. Forty-day-old urine, if a little glass of it is drunk, heals wasp's sting," and larger doses produce still more powerful effects. "Old peoples urinated on everything which they believed to be dangerously enchanted." Simon ben Jochai is quoted as saying that "there are four things which God hates and which I do not love: to enter one's house suddenly; to hold the penis in the hand when urinating; to urinate naked before one's bed; and to exercise coitus in the presence of another person." All these things are connected with magic, and for the same reason to urinate in prayer-time destroys the prayer's efficacy, and holy books must not be used in the presence of urine unless a little water is first thrown into it.¹

In the sixteenth century Bodin quoted the case of a girl belonging to a village near Constance who, annoyed at not being invited to a village wedding and dance, went to a hill near by (transported thither by the Devil, it was believed), made a hole, urinated into it, and uttered a certain magic formula. So at all events the neighbors believed, and a hailstorm which followed and caused the dancers to return home, was attributed to her machinations. The unfortunate girl, suspected to be a witch, was compelled to confess, and was burnt alive.² In Germany a newly married young woman will still sometimes pass a little of her urine into her husband's coffee, believing that she will

¹ Ludwig Blau, *Das Altjüdische Zauberwesen*, 1898, p. 162. Many examples of urinary magic are also brought together by Géza Róheim ("Das Selbst," *Imago*, 1921, p. 17) who seeks to interpret it psycho-analytically.

² Bodin, *De la Demonomanie*, 1593, Bk. ii, p. 220.

thereby intensify his love, and bind him to her forever.¹ Even among educated people a belief in the mysterious powers of the act of urination seems sometimes to survive in a playful form, and Stekel mentions a mother at Vienna who said to her little boy as she urinated: "Don't look or you will become blind."²

At the present day in Europe it would seem to be among the Southern Slavs that are to be found the most prevalent and various ancient customs concerning the mysterious power of urine and the act of urination still actively subsisting. As a kind of holy water, as a sort of initiatory rite, as a *tabu*, as a magical stimulus to vegetation and procreation, as a method of effecting harm or preventing harm—all the various beliefs concerning the potency of urine and the significance of the urinary act seem here to flourish, while there are many occasions in life when it is necessary to exert the influence of urination or to carefully refrain from doing so.³

The belief in supernatural beings closely associated with streams, so easily developed among primitive peoples of mythopœic mind, greatly flourished in Europe. It was not by any means always, or even frequently, associated with the idea of urination, though, as we have seen, there is a natural tendency to associate the physiological aspects of water with its more cosmic aspects, and in myth, as still in dreams, the act of urination may easily be the source of a mighty stream; an early example is furnished by the dream of Astyages, King of the Medes, as narrated by Herodotus, in which that monarch imagined he saw his

¹ Wittlich, "Sexualität im Zigeunerleben," *Ztbltt für Menschenkunde*, 1925, Heft 8, p. 369. Bourke in his *Scatalogic Rites* has collected much material that bears on the supposed magic qualities of urine, this material being still further increased in the German translation, *Der Unrat* by Krauss and Ihm.

² *Jahrbuch f. psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. i, 1909, p. 484. But, it must be remembered, it is an ancient and familiar notion that blindness is the punishment for seeing any forbidden thing.

³ The condensed summary of these beliefs and practices by Dr. Krauss occupies many pages of Bourke, Krauss and Ihm, *Der Unrat*, Section LX.

daughter, Mandane, inundate the whole of Asia by the stream of her urine; in the version of Ktesias, which, as Rank remarks, is more probable, the dream is ascribed to Mandane herself when already pregnant with Cyrus; it is typical alike of the process of dreaming and of a common primitive conception of rivers and floods.¹ In several parts of the world it is believed that the first woman created the sea by urination.

There is, indeed, reason to believe that the ancient legends, already mentioned, concerning a primitive flood drowning the world—of which Noah's flood with his ark is the familiar Biblical representative—are really connected with primitive dreams, and associated myths, of urination. This view appears to have been put forth both by Stucker and by W. Schultz, but it has been most elaborately developed from the psycho-analytic side, especially by Otto Rank, in the paper, already quoted, on the stratification of symbols in mythic thought, and his wide-ranging discussion of the subject seems to make this view probable. In accordance with his conception of symbols as falling into parallel layers, Rank finds that a sexual and generative idea may also be concealed in such myths, with the significance of birth from the water, and in Hebrew (Rank states) the same word is used both for Noah's ark and for the ark in which the infant Moses was found in the Nile.

In some legendary literature the act of urination has a more simple human basis as furnishing an occasion for competition in trials of skill. Thus in an ancient version of the Ulster legend of Cuchulinn we are told how such a contest had fatal results for Derbforgaill whom that great

¹ Herodotus, Bk. i, Ch. CVII. In the sixteenth century *Moyen de Parvenir* Béroalde de Verville records a French legend of a woman who, having obtained a magical promise that she would be able to spend the whole day on what she began doing in the morning, resolved to have a good day's washing, but having taken what she considered the wise precaution of first going into her yard to urinate, it was in that act that she was compelled to pass the day, thus becoming the source of a great stream. This suggests a more primitive version of Goethe's "Der Zauberlehrling," which Dukas has put to music.

hero had given in marriage to his page Lugaid. "One day towards the end of winter there was a great fall of snow, and the men made a pillar of snow. The women went to the pillar and hit upon this device: 'We will make water on the pillar to see which of us can melt it most. She will be best among us who is able to penetrate it through.' They could not succeed in doing this. Then they called Derbforgaill for her to try. At first she would not for she was not foolish. But nevertheless she mounted on the pillar and melted it to the earth. When the men heard of this they could not endure her superiority over the others." The conclusion was tragic; they mutilated her so that she died, and her husband also died, of grief, at the sight of her, whereupon Cuchulinn made a great slaughter in revenge for her death and sang over her a song.¹ In the great Irish epic, again, Queen Medb, at the head of her army fought for three days and nights with no chance of making water. At last she felt that she could hold it no longer. "'Do thou, Fergus,' she said, 'undertake a shield-shelter in the rear of the men of Erin till I let my water flow from me.' 'By my troth,' replied Fergus, 'tis an ill hour for thee to be taken so.' 'Howbeit, there is no help for me,' Medb answered; 'for I shall not live if I do not void water.' Fergus accordingly came and raised a shield-shelter in the rear of the men of Erin. Medb voided her water, so that it made three large dikes, so that a mill could find room in each. Hence the place is now known as Fual Medbha (Medb's water)."² Far away in a myth of the Salish Indians of British Columbia, given by Hill Tout, a contest between males is described as to which could urinate furthest and highest,

¹ Zimmer, "Keltische Beiträge," *Zt. f. deutsches Alterthum*, Bd. 32, 1888, p. 218. Rhys considered that Derbforgaill ("the drop glistening in the sun") was originally a goddess of dawn and dusk. I have elsewhere (*Studies*, vol. v, *Erotic Symbolism*, p. 53) referred to a folk-tale of Picardy (again a somewhat Celtic region) telling how a princess worried the King, her father, by urinating high over hay-cocks, but became unable to perform this feat when she was finally seduced.

² *Táin Bó Cuáigne*. Translated by J. Dunn, p. 360, 1914.

the victor, a shaman doctor, being able to make his stream rise over the mountain top.¹

Thus in the ancient Celtic world² we clearly find the physiological mystery of urine blended with the meteorologic mystery of rain and streams. In the mythology of the Slavs and Teutons, the physiological seems to recede, however it may subsist in the unconscious, but the fascination of water as a mythic motive is all the more strongly pronounced. In pagan Germany it was believed that Heaven and Earth were formed from Water, the source of all Being, and would return to Water. The souls, that come out of springs of water at birth, would return to them at death. The water was also the clouds, and it was sometimes thought that Holda, the water-goddess, dwelt in the clouds.³

It is notable that the associations of water in Nature-myths

¹ *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, July-Dec., 1904, p. 361. It may not be out of place to remark here that the old legends of vesical competitions, even though they may be the vestigial degradations of primitive religious myths, still possess an element of truth to human nature today. I have been told of a high class English ladies' school where the elder girls—who, we may be sure, have never heard of Derbforgaill or the folktales of Picardy—were accustomed to engage in contests of urinary skill. On Saturday afternoons (a lady who was a pupil there states) the girls would buy chocolates, pool them, and engage in a trial of skill which consisted in attempting to perform the feat of urinating in the erect position into a bottle placed on the floor. The victor in the contest was entitled to carry off the chocolates. Quite similar contests of women were formerly held (I hear from a Belgian lady) at village *Kermesses* in Belgium, but have now fallen into disuse. Reference is made to this old custom in *Anthropophyteia*, vol. x, p. 372, "In't fleshken pissen." There were two bottles in a case with funnels in them and the two competing women stood at a distance; the woman who most nearly filled her bottle carried off the prize. Men were not allowed to be present. The game is illustrated by figures in the Museum of Folk-lore at Antwerp. The spontaneous appearance of such manifestations at all stages of both barbarism and civilization indicates that they are rooted in human nature and must not be dismissed as marks of obscenity.

² It need scarcely be said that the worship of water and water spirits in Europe is much older than Celtic times. Déchelette (*Manuel d'Archéologie*, 1910, vol. ii, Part II, p. 452) quotes Gaidoz and Dottier to show that the nymphs of the waters in which ex-votos have been found in Gaul (Aventia, Divona, Ura, etc.) are seldom Celtic.

³ H. Pfannenschmid, *Das Weihwasser*, 1869, p. 99. See also as regards water-spirits in primitive Germany, Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp. 398 et seq.

are chiefly with women and feminine spirits.¹ Not only among the Teutons and Celts is this so, but also among the Slavs, and the Russian Rusalkas are figures of much poetic charm though apt to be malicious. The Serbian Veele (Vela in the singular) are water nymphs of even greater charm and less malice. Traces of their worship may still be found in Serbia where they play a large part in superstitions. Serbian bards from the fourteenth century to the present day have glorified the Veele, describing them as beautiful and eternally young, robed in the finest white gauze, with shimmering golden hair flowing over their snow-white bosoms; their voices are sweet and they love dancing and sometimes bear bows and arrows; they can be kind and helpful to men but are cruel if offended or irritated.²

There was one type of water-maiden in whom the seductiveness, and the risks, of water were especially embodied. In modern literature she was given final classic shape in the figure of Lorelei. But the same figure appears in old German legends and in the tradition of allied or neighboring northern peoples under a great variety of different names. Holmberg describes the slight variations of this water-maiden among numerous related peoples of Finno-Ugrian race and recognizes a probable or certain Germanic (or Slav) influence. The water-maiden is generally seen, on the rocks or in the shade of a tree, combing with a golden comb her long golden or sometimes black or occasionally red hair. She is very beautiful and usually naked, though she may be dressed in white or more gorgeous raiment. She may sing or dance, but she is shy and

¹ Jacob Grimm (*Deutsche Mythologie*, 4th ed., vol. i, pp. 405 *et seq.* and English translation, *Teutonic Mythology*, vol. ii, pp. 583 *et seq.*) deals with the German veneration of water and water-spirits which were nearly all feminine, though the Romans possessed river-gods. No male spirit of the Rhine is mentioned in ancient tradition. See also Müllenhoff (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, vol. v, 1908, p. 106), who mentions that Asinius Pollio, one of the first witnesses for German antiquity, states that the wise women of Germany prophesied from the eddies of streams—so that wisdom, knowledge, and foresight dwelt in water.

² Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, pp. 139 *et seq.*; W. M. Petrowitch, *Hero Tales and Legends of the Serbians*, 1914, pp. 16 *et seq.*

speedily disappears in the water when seen by human eyes. But she has been known to love and even to marry men. She is found with different names among the Ostiaks, Wotiaks, Esths, Finns, Hungarians, and allied peoples.¹ In modern times this fascination has been embodied and perpetuated in the feminine figure of the Undine.

The name Undine was used for water-nymphs in the sixteenth century by Paracelsus, in his *Liber de Nymphis, Sylphis, Pygmaeis et Salamandris*. The Undines had an erotic tinge. The earliest legends concerning them tell of their unions to human lovers of whom they were so jealous that they disappeared forever to return to their own element immediately the lover became unfaithful, and H. Ehrlich believes that many a mediaeval story of Undines had behind it a real abbess or nun or noble maiden. It was Paracelsus's book which offered the suggestion which has made the name Undine famous as a designation for water-nymph, and especially a fourteenth century story of the Knight of Stauffenberg and a lovely Undine, met on a rock, who gave herself to him on condition he should never marry a human woman, lest he die. But at last he was persuaded to marry a king's niece, whereupon the Undine left him with the warning that he would see a naked foot as a sign of his fate. At a feast a wondrously lovely woman's foot appeared through an opening in the ceiling, and three days thereafter the knight died.² This legend touched the imagination of Friedrich, Baron de la Motte Fouqué (born in Brandenburg in 1777) who belonged to an old French family of Huguenot refugees which had entered the service of the King of Prussia, and in the spring of 1811 appeared *Undine* which has never since failed to find readers. The peculiarities of those human water-folk with whom I am here concerned I propose to call by the rather arbitrary but convenient name of *Undinism*.

¹ Uno Holmberg, *Die Wassergöttheiten der Finisch-Ugrischen Völker*, Helsinki, 1913, pp. 40, 65, 67, 98, 166, 173, 203, 204, 259.

² W. Pfeiffer, *Ueber Fouqué's Undine*, 1903.

II.

We have so far been mainly concerned with the psychic influence of water in general, and urination in particular, on the normal life of humanity in the more primitive stages of culture, together with their extensions into civilization. We have seen that interest in the act of urination, and in urine as a sacred and even magical manifestation of the natural qualities of water, is deeply based on a biological foundation which finds its expression in custom, ritual, and belief. As civilization progresses that influence tends to become, on the one hand more secluded, more transmuted, if not altogether suppressed, while, on the other hand, against the background of this increasing obscurity of urinary psychology, it begins to be seen that in certain individuals the primitive and infantile importance of water in general and urination in particular continues beyond puberty into adult life. This may happen either by delayed or inhibited development of the psycho-sexual activities, which normally replace or conceal these earlier manifestations, or by incomplete substitution of the former for the latter, so that the merely subordinate position which the earlier interests normally tend to maintain in the adult, even in the sexual sphere with which they are intimately associated, becomes unusually prominent, or else by inhibition or decay of the later activities appears as a regression to the earlier stage of development. This may be regarded as an infantile psychic condition because in civilization this tendency is found in the most marked and the most normal form among children. For children are nearer to primitive modes of thinking and primitive culture than are adults. In this way they habitually reveal primitive tendencies which in civilized adults are usually, though not always, transformed, submerged, or altogether lost, save, it may be, in the unconscious.

Stanley Hall who, by the fruitful exploration he instituted, has opened up so many archaic strata in the psychic constitu-

tion of childhood, could not fail to come across this prevalent aspect of children's customs and rituals, however concealed as a secret mystery, and duly referred to it; he considered that it culminated at the age of ten or twelve, that is to say at the eve of puberty.¹ But he never dealt with the subject in detail or published the data at his command. The lacuna still remains unfilled. But it is easy from observation, from memories of childhood, and from the fragmentary incidents recorded in sexual histories, or similarly obtainable, to form a picture of the psychic activities which in childhood center in the act of urination. Dr. H. von Hug-Hellmuth, from the psycho-analytic side, in her *Study of the Mental Life of the Child*, gave a number of details bearing on this point.² Tausk, again, stated that in his experience the sexual life of children at the latent period bears especially the character of a desire to see the process of excretion, and that this bodily function, since it invites an association with the genitals in a way corresponding to the child's knowledge and to the necessities of the educational environment, supplies the greater part of the sexual fantasies of the latent period.³

The exploration of this matter could not fail to commend itself to psycho-analytic investigators. The first important step was taken by Sadger, one of Freud's chief adherents, in 1910.⁴ Freud had attached much importance to the already recognized fact that the anus—normally in children and occasionally in adults—is a sexually erogenous region and had developed the idea that the individuals in whom

¹ G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. i, p. 116; *ib.* "Early Sense of Self," *Am. Jour. Psych.*, Ap. 1898, p. 361.

² English translation by James Putnam and Mabel Stevens, *Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series*, No. 29, Washington. See especially pp. 26, 29, 39, 49, 91. She refers to the pleasurable interest of young children in the emptying of the bath tub and the gurgling of bath water, and believes that fondness for water means a strong urethral eroticism.

³ V. Tausk, *Int. Zt. f. Aerta. Psychoanalyse*, Sept., 1913. He gives dreams of an intelligent boy of 10 showing a desire to visit the w. c. of the girls at the mixed school he attended.

⁴ J. Sadger, "Ueber Urethralerotik," *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. ii, 1910, pp. 409-450.

this is most markedly the case tended to show a mental type with special psychic peculiarities so that it seemed possible to speak of anal eroticism (*anal-crotik*).¹ Sadger started from this point and proceeded to argue that there is a corresponding urethral eroticism (*urethral-crotik*) or, as a synonym, Urinary Eroticism (*Harn-e:otik*). He uses this term in a wide sense, to cover not only the urethra and urine but the erogeneity of the whole peripheral urinary apparatus from the bladder to the external urethral orifice. At and shortly before puberty urethral eroticism not seldom presents the type of the whole later sexual life, even though infantile urinary eroticism is normally only a natural transition from one secretion to another secretion; and, similarly, urinary irregularities (like spermatorrhea and coitus interruptus) may be transferred from the urinary sphere. "Sexual neurasthenia," also, in Sadger's opinion, is fundamentally more a disturbance of the urinary than of the sexual functions, and Maximilian Steiner, the Viennese urologist, informed Sadger that his sexual neurasthenics complain less of disturbed sexuality than of disturbed urinary functions.²

Urethral eroticism, Sadger argued, extends to the highest psychic sphere. It is in the regulation of the urinary and bowel functions that *duty* first appears to the infant. In well-bred children this duty may be imposed and obeyed before they have completed their first year. So that on the basis of this conception of Sadger's it may be said that the moral attitude of adult life has a primary urethro-anal basis, and that children to whom these urethro-anal inhibitions are difficult will find difficulty in adjusting themselves to the normal moral attitude.

In any case, children who at the third year or later have not been brought to accept this elementary duty are, Sadger found, for the most part decided urethral eroticists, and may also become anally erotic. They are often, even in early life, obliged to urinate fre-

¹ S. Freud, "Charakter und Analerotik," *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, Second Series, 1909, pp. 132-137.

² Sadger finds that urethral eroticism is, in a certain sense, hereditary; its subjects often descend from fathers with urinary troubles, and their mothers are specially interested in the subject, being apt to attend to the children's wants in this matter even when the children are quite old enough to attend to themselves.

quently, and this may be associated with polyuria, so that they have frequent occasion to realize how pleasurable urination and its product may be. This frequency may approach incontinence and continue to later years. For urethral-erotic children urine, as such, even when not in large amount, works erogenously, and this may occur also even in normal persons. Pathological enuresis only occurs when pleasure in urination is abnormally heightened. These children like to interrupt and so prolong the act. Wetting their own bodies is a great pleasure; for this reason they wet their clothes; one patient of Sadger's still likes to urinate in his hand.

There is significance also in an abnormally precocious irritability of the corpora cavernosa by the restrained urine, and this may lead to retention. The normal morning erections may be attributed to the action of the full bladder on the *nervi erigentes*. This may occur even in infants, and Sadger believes that small children may learn to practice retention for the sake of an erection which they find pleasurable. Such habitually exercised retention may be a prelude to later masturbation. It is also etiologically related to psychic impotence.

The special pleasure of urination to such children is seen in the expression of the face—often a stupid, half mentally absent expression, peculiar to the orgasm—and the spurting of the urine on their own bodies, and later onto the bodies of beloved persons. A child likes to show his love by urinating on a beloved person—parents, nurses, brothers and sisters. It is very seldom that a child urinates on anyone he dislikes. This may not only be observed, but may be recalled by some persons from their own early memories. This view is confirmed, it may here be added, by Emil Schultze-Malkowsky ("Der Sexuelle Trieb im Kindesalter," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Bd. ii, Heft 8, p. 372) who tells of a little girl of 7 who liked to persuade her favorite girl companions to go on all fours and be horses for her to ride on their necks with naked thighs. With special friends she would ride backwards, leaning forward to embrace the body impulsively, pressing the neck tightly with her thighs and urinating, a kind of instinctive symbol of detumescence. This impulse is sometimes retained in adult life, and McGillicuddy, in his *Disorders of the Nervous System in Women*, refers to a married lady who always had an uncontrollable expulsion of urine in the marital act, whereby her husband was disgusted and desisted from coitus; nothing of the kind ever occurred at any other time. The notion that coitus consists in urination, Sadger describes as the child's "classical" theory.

Some children who are usually clean in their habits have occasional attacks of enuresis at night or even in the day. Sadger finds

that this occurs at periods of sexual excitement. The more active the child's sexuality the later it is in acquiring cleanliness. The child regards urine as a sexual product, and Sadger believes that the sexual over-valuation of urine (together with anal erotic ideas) is also at the basis of the urinary and faecal therapy revealed by folklore. The fact that girls often wet themselves when laughing or crying or in states of nervous anxiety may perhaps be connected with a frequent association of giggling and nervousness with sexual thoughts and situations. (In boys and men anxiety more frequently affects the bowels, and recruits in their first battle often defecate in their trousers.) So also abnormal ticklishness in girls is not seldom associated with urinary eroticism, and they may not only urinate when tickled under the arms, but take pleasure in urinating on their own limbs.

Sadger brings forward the case of a urinary eroticist, a man also subject to obsessions, who when a child and in great excitement or fear would urinate and thus procure enjoyment and consolation. Now, when sad or depressed, he masturbates or has coitus with his wife and thus attains the same ends. This man when a child would wet himself in bed in a half-sleeping state, not clearly realizing where he was. He married a girl who was also of strongly urinary erotic disposition. She wetted the bed when young and still sometimes dreams that she wants to do so but must not now that she is married and in bed with her husband; on waking she finds that she has passed a few drops. Their two children are also urinary eroticists. The little girl, when only two years of age, was very fond of her father; she once took his portrait to bed with her, made water on it, and said that is what she would like to do to her father. If her father takes her out and leaves her for a little while she will wet her drawers, if he leaves her for a few weeks, on his return she will wet the bed. The contact of the urine with her thigh (as is the case with her father) seems to give her much pleasure. She likes her father or mother to tickle her and especially likes her father to tickle her neck. It is very difficult to make her urinate in the proper place; she much prefers to do it in her drawers or in bed, in spite of all threats of punishment. Her little brother behaves very similarly and likes to urinate from the bed in a long stream, if possible onto his mother whom he is very fond of.

Freud had recognized the sexual associations of *enuresis* in children. Bleuler further showed that in some insane patients (schizophrenia or dementia precox) there is a connection between sexuality and wetting the bed, and he added that this

long before Freud. We here see an exaggerated form of the normal tendency of sexual emotion in healthy women to produce a desire to urinate, and even occasionally actual involuntary urination.

Bleuler refers to one of his katatonic female patients who, when it was reported that she had again wetted the bed, was asked why she did it in bed. The usually torpid patient laughed, gesticulated, and pronounced the name of Dr. N. When asked what Dr. N. had to do with it she replied with a laugh, and an acutely sexual expression on her face: "Nothing; but when I dream of Dr. N. then I pee (brünzle) him."¹ Healy records the interesting case in Chicago of a girl of 15 who was normal and healthy in childhood, but developed prematurely at 12, menstruating and experiencing strong sexual feelings leading to masturbation. She was an attractive, neatly dressed girl, and was proud and concealed her sex feelings and practices. But her repressions broke out in all sorts of violent and destructive as well as thievish conduct at home, with "free fights," so that some thought she must be weak-minded or mad. At the same time began the enuresis of which earlier there had been no trace. It was clearly the expression of repressed sexual emotion in a vigorous girl whose uncongenial and unsympathetic home offered no normal outlet for her emotions. When last seen she was passing out of this phase, and constantly improving, though doubtless still indulging at times in masturbation.²

It is interesting to remember, in connection with the close association between urination and sexual emotion in women, that in young children vesical excitement and genital excitement (whether or not accompanied by any feelings that could properly be called sexual) tend to be associated even in boys. Thus Max Flesch, discussing the sexuality of childhood, remarks that in male infants the erections that sometimes take place may be followed by a jet of urine. He regards this as

¹ Bleuler, *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, vol. ii, 1910, p. 643.

² W. Healy, *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*, 1917, pp. 236-42.

having nothing to do with "sexuality" in the adult sense but as "an expression of the original connection between the uropoietic and genital apparatus before the division of the centers has taken place."¹ It may be added that if we can rely on the experiments of Guyon on the controlling influence of the *nervi erigentes* over the bladder, both sensory and motor, there must always be a close connection between genital and vesical action.

Sadger recognized the difficulty of distinguishing between the urinary and the sexual spheres and considered that pleasure associated with the former may easily belong to the undeveloped sexual sphere. (Or, as Freudians would now say, it belongs to the large "Lust" group which is only called "sexual" in a broad sense). But he insisted on the typical pleasure associated with urine and the urinary act. He realized also—and this brings his observations into close connection with the conception of Undinism here presented—the intimate association of the interest in urine with the interest in water generally. "The love of so many children for anything connected with water shows plainly how widespread urethral eroticism is." He refers to their delight in sprinkling water, or playing with soda-water syphons, etc., as all related to urination. He is further inclined to see a sublimation of urinary eroticism in the choice of sports like swimming and boating. A similar sublimation, already discussed in the previous section, may be seen in art, especially in the fountain.

The act of urination in children up to the age of six, and sometimes even beyond, occasionally in the adult, may be involuntary. But, we see, it may be exercised voluntarily, or in a semi-voluntary way, not from real need but as an expression of feeling, and for the relief of repressed emotions. Thus Frank tells of an intelligent little girl of six who began to wet the bed at the age of three when she found that her younger brother was being preferred to her by their father. Her mother took her away to travel and the enuresis disappeared,

¹ Max Flesch, *Sexual-Probleme*. Oct. 1911. p. 694.

but it came on again with the arrival of the father. When Frank talked to her in a friendly way, she was at first surprised at his explanation, that she was finding a compensation for her father's neglect, but afterwards agreed with him and cured herself.¹

Ferenczi refers to a hysterical woman whose sexual thoughts in childhood were especially concerned with the idea of her father urinating.² Federn considers that when in childhood there is an unduly prolonged retention of urine, with consequent excitement, anxiety, and eventually shame, we have a source of masochism;³ but this seems very doubtful. Stekel has given considerable attention to urinary psychology, much insisting on its sexual associations. Following Raymond and Janet (in *Les Obsessions*) and later Freud, he regards nocturnal enuresis as corresponding to a pollution. He considers that micturition is the common ending of auto-erotic activity in childhood; that is to say that "orgasm first appears in the streaming of urine." He believes that nocturnal enuresis thus becomes comprehensible. He adds that "enuresis beyond physiological limits only occurs when the feeling of pleasure in urination is notably heightened."⁴ The analogy between orgasm and micturition has suggested the possibility of continuing this genetic origin into later sexual intercourse. The only contribution that can here be furnished comes from a correspondent who is known to me, as also his wife who is of Undinist temperament:

"This was first suggested to me by a servant girl with whom I had connection when a boy, as she said she imagined the sensation of the fluid running into her body would be pleasant. I made no attempt to do this at the time but later, in

¹ L. Frank, *Vom Liebes- und Sexualleben*, vol. i, p. 110.

² Ferenczi, *Jahrbuch f. Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, 1909, Bd. i, Hälfte, ii, p. 455.

³ Federn, *Int. Zt. f. Aertzliche Psychoanalyse*, March, 1914.

⁴ W. Stekel, *Psychosexueller Infantilismus*, 1922, Ch. XI, "Urinsexualität." S. Herbert (*Psychoanalytic Review*, July, 1922) records the case of a youth of 18, enuretic throughout life, who experienced decided pleasure in micturition, and has dreams and day-dreams of a girl urinating, the enuresis becoming a substitute for the sex act.

manhood, I tried it with another girl. It was done on this occasion by starting the stream before entering for I can micturate during erection which I believe some [it should be said most] men find impossible. It never occurred to me to do this again until my wife spoke of it as an act that she thought could not be accomplished. I was able to show her that it was quite possible, in my case at any rate. This time it was done after intromission. I had to fix my mind on the operation and imagine I was urinating in the ordinary way in the chamber utensil, as I have to do when I am in the presence of men, being shy in the company of my own sex. I was balked to some degree by my lady talking during my efforts, but on getting her to keep silence and concentrating my mind in the way I have indicated the stream at last came. She was unconscious of the inrush of the urine until a sense of fulness apprised her of my success. I think, with constant practice, this might be more easy."

It may be noted here that Ferenczi has put forward the view that coitus is made up of two factors; a discharging factor (urethral eroticism) and a retaining factor (anal eroticism). Coitus is thus regarded as an *amphimixis* of these two eroticisms.¹ But apart from the objection (brought forward by Tansley) that we have here an illegitimate use of Weismann's term, this view is to be rejected. To explain one specific function by reference to two other specific functions having completely different objects, is purely fanciful. It casts no illumination whatever on the nature of the sexual impulse.

When we turn to adults the phenomena we are here concerned with seem to occur more frequently in women than in men, probably because psychic sexual activity under civilized conditions is often developed later in women than in men and partly because the internal moral censorship inculcated in women tends to press more heavily in the sexual than in the urinary sphere, so that the imagination has more scope in the latter, while at the same time vesical needs are often more

¹ Ferenczi, *Versuch einer Genitaltheorie*, Int. Psych. Bib., Bd. XV, 1924.

urgent in women and social impediments to their gratification more numerous, so that feminine interest in the matter becomes more acute. Stekel considers that there are elements of urolagnia in about 20 per cent. normal adults.¹ But he recognizes that it is specially frequent in women, and if we consider women separately it seems to me that we ought to double that percentage. Kind, who holds that the micturition of the female is as a rule attractive to the male, in man as in other mammals, believes that only men experience urolagnia because only women are liable to urinate during sexual excitement;² but not only is the statement completely false but the reason assigned for it has an entirely opposite significance, for if women possess the impulse to urinate at the time of sexual desire, that is simply another way of saying that they experience urolagnia. We are here in the presence of an intimate expression of one of the peculiarly pleasurable associations which water has for women: "Why do all women dip their hands in the water when they are in a boat?" asks one of the characters in a novel of Madame Colette's and she attempts to deal with the problem.³ A fairly typical example of the urolagnic impulse within normal limits in a normal woman, and extending into old age, is recorded by Margarethe Petersen of Copenhagen in a married lady of her acquaintance, then aged 77. She liked, although saying she felt a little "ashamed" of the practice, to urinate on orange or apple rinds, enjoying the fragrant odor. She also liked going into the kitchen, turning on the tap, and then urinating with great

¹ *Psychosexueller Infantilismus*, p. 182. Stekel remarks that "unsatisfied people, especially women, must often urinate. Micturition is often performed by adults as a sort of substitute for coitus; and he mentions a married woman who is indifferent to coitus but who experiences a powerful orgasm when her husband urinates on her, so that she almost loses consciousness.

² A. Kind, *Die Weiberherrschaft in der Geschichte der Menschheit*, Ergänzungsband, p. 288. Kind himself inconsistently goes on to point out that the urethral opening in women, being close to the clitoris, is an erotogenous zone, so that urination is necessarily a pleasurable action in women. Pitres and Régis (*Proc. Moscow Int. Med. Congress*, vol. iv, p. 19) consider that the desire to urinate always accompanies spontaneous sexual excitement in women.

pleasure. When pregnant she had always wanted to make water when she heard a stream of water falling. There is a Narcissistic element combined with this urolagnia, and she is proud of still possessing beautiful legs.¹

To the special reasons why women should be more interested in urination than are men is to be added the fact that they are peculiarly liable to involuntary urination even apart from any sexual stimulation. Taylor and Watt estimate that 8 per cent. nulliparous women suffer from a disagreeable degree of urinary incontinence. This fact is also clearly demonstrated by statistical observations under nitrous oxide anesthesia. Dr. Silk found that in 5000 cases among which the sexes were almost equal in number, involuntary micturition occurred only four times in males but twenty-three times in females; moreover only one of the males was an adult but sixteen of the females were adults.² This tendency of women to involuntary micturition seems to be generally recognized, even outside of Europe, and in the *Arabi Nights* we are told of a sheik who promises to Haroun-Raschid's Vizier a slave who will be so devoted to him that after his death when weeping over his body she will not be able to refrain from urinating on his face and beard.³

The same liability occurs in sleep. Thus a friend, an unmarried woman, dreamed, after having drunk several cups of tea late in the evening and also being rather worried, that she was talking to two men friends about an agitating and difficult mission she imagined she had to accomplish, which involved crossing the sea; in the course of this conversation she seemed without any embarrassment, to draw a chamber vessel from under the bed and urinate into it. At this moment she was

¹ M. Petersen, "Harnerotik einer Greisin," *Zentralblatt f. Psychanalyse*, July-Aug., 1912, p. 605. The case is here regarded, as one "infantile repression," which is clearly incorrect since there is no reason to suppose it was not life-long, and as an "obsession," which is unnecessary.

² Communicated by Dr. Silk, Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, 6 ed., p. 372. It is noteworthy that the liability to involuntary defecation was equally shared by the sexes.

³ *Mariama. Les Mille Nuits et une Nuit* vol vii p. 161

awakened, it seemed to her, by the sound of the falling stream, and found that she was lying on her side with legs drawn up; she got out of bed and made water copiously but discovered that she had previously begun to wet the bed. This would scarcely occur to a man.

An interest in masculine urination is not necessarily urolagnia. "A Neapolitan dancer belonging to the San Carlo theater, and about twenty years of age, once told me," writes a Russian correspondent who has long lived in Italy, "that one of her favorite pleasures was to look at gentlemen making water in public urinals. I asked her how long she had thus amused herself. "Why, ever since I was a child, *da bambina*." When my attention was thus drawn to the matter, I was able to observe that in Italy young girls cast inquisitive eyes at the occupied urinals they pass. (This is easy in Italy where public conveniences are usually open.) Women of a certain age generally pay no attention. The most eager *voyeuses* are girls between twelve and fifteen. As regards urinals, I have noticed that, as a general rule, girls the more readily gaze at this spectacle the lower the social class they belong to. The great majority of better-class girls, after they reach the age of ten or twelve, turn their faces away when they pass the urinal. Girls of the very lowest class, that which dresses in rags, stare at the virile organ with cynical insistence, stand still to see better, turn round, laugh, and sometimes talk about it aloud among themselves. Girls of the more respectable low class watch for a favorable moment, cast a furtive glance, and only gaze attentively when they believe they are not observed. Often they adopt ruses; having noticed the male organ as they walk past the urinal, they will suddenly turn back as though they had forgotten something and gaze at the object a second time. Or else, when a few paces from the urinal, they will stop before a shop-window as though admiring the objects exposed there, but all the while looking out of the corners of their eyes at the object which really interests them. I once saw a little girl of about twelve stand for perhaps an hour before a poster announcing a representation of d'Annunzio's *Figlia di Jorio*, apparently absorbed in reading the announcement but really devouring with her eyes the penes of the men who succeeded one another in the urinal beside her. Usually the erotic excitement of the young girls was manifested by signs that were not doubtful: Their eyes grew bright, their cheeks became colored or pale, their lips trembled. This excitement seems to be stronger if they see the organ erect with the glans uncovered. Once a young girl of about fourteen passed a urinal in which I was, almost brushing me as she passed, but not seeing the organ, owing

to the angle; after passing she turned back, and could then see what before was hidden; this produced such an impression on her that she could not repress an exclamation, and with haggard eyes she pressed her left hand to her heart.

All the Italian prostitutes to whom I have spoken of the matter confess that during childhood and early youth the spectacle of public urinals has been to them an abundant source of enjoyment. One of them told me that at eighteen, when she was still a virgin, she could see from the window of her lodgings in a urinal in the street below the penes of the men who were making water. She would then say to herself: "Dio, come dev' essere buono il toccare ed il maneggiare quello pesce crudo! Che cosa divina dev' essere il coricarsi con i uomini!"

I may add in this connection that a correspondent tells me of a friend, living in Germany, who was making water against a wall when a girl came up to him and asked, quite simply and naturally if he knew when the next train went to town. In all such cases one may assume that it is the organ rather than the act that exercises fascination.

The special liability of women to experience interest in this matter may be associated with a similar liability among men of the Church. Obscenity generally has often found literary exponents among the clergy, both Catholic and Protestant, and they have shown a preference for scatological obscenity, largely no doubt because of the moral riskiness of sexual obscenity, as well as because the solemnity of ecclesiastical functions cannot fail to lead to a reaction in healthy constituted persons. At the same time, as also with women, this field is tempting to the sexually innocent. Scatological pleasantries, Huysmans remarks in pointing this out, are dear to men of the Church, for they have the advantage of being innocent.¹

The case of Dean Swift, who dwells much on images of urination, especially in women, is perhaps special in its significance. "Swift is frequently coarse, dirty, even obscene but he is never licentious or wantonly suggestive," Dean Bernard remarks, and he considers that this scatological tendency was "not improbably due to a diseased imagination, which

¹ Huysmans, *L'Oblat*, p. 201.

was the consequence of the physical infirmities that wrecked his life."¹ There seems to be allusion here to an impotence which may well be the key to Swift's unhappy love-history, and Stella might on this matter have been able to enlighten us.

There is a well-known perverted form of urolagnia which only occurs in girls and young women: an interest in the function which leads them to pretend that they never do it and so attract attention to themselves. In such cases an original urolagnia is complicated by other tendencies which are also largely feminine and especially modesty and Narcissistic exhibitionism of a rather perverted kind. Such subjects are generally regarded as "hysterical." Thus Binswanger mentions the case of a girl of thirteen, intellectually well-developed and of healthy family, who was said never to have urinated for five weeks. At last a wet streak was noticed on the outer wall of her room and it was discovered that she had urinated by squirting the stream out of the window. After that the apparent anuria still continued till it was found that she did it behind the bedstead. Another patient, a woman of 27, would carry a little milk can about with her, urinating in small quantities and throwing it out of the window.²

Putting aside, however, any special susceptibility of women or of ecclesiastics, we have to recognize, with Stekel, a general element of urolagnia too common to be considered as falling outside the normal range of feeling. In London, Dr. Norman Haire informs me that since his attention was called to the matter by a paper of mine, he has been surprised to find how common this element is. It is independent of social class or of historical period. In the collection of Magyar erotic rhymes collected among peasants in Hungary and brought together in *Anthropophyteia* we find: "Yesterday I saw a young maid set herself down on the grass to urinate and my penis began to rise."³ And Brantôme at the Court of France in the middle of the sixteenth century, mentions, without surprise, that

¹ Introduction (p. xlviii) to Ball's ed. of Swift's *Correspondence*.

² Binswanger, *Die Hysteric*, 1904, p. 595.

³ *Anthropophyteia*, Bd. iii, p. 51.

some of the greatest nobles of the Court one day "not knowing what else to do, went to see the girls [Court ladies] make water," concealed, that is to say, beneath a floor with wide cracks.¹ In the eighteenth century many engravings were produced, especially in France, in which women, indoors or out of doors, were depicted in the act of urination under various circumstances.² By the old English caricaturists also urination was represented, though more fantastically. There is no doubt that this act, not only pictured but in real life, has an erotic interest for many, though not for all, men; and mention is made of a tourist along the Rhine, where German peasant girls frequently urinate in the standing position, who, whenever he heard the descending stream, as he passed a girl in this act, would immediately experience erection and ejaculation.³

The element of urolagnia within normal limits in civilization today may be illustrated by the following communication from a correspondent with whom I am acquainted, as also with his wife. He is a man of 44, healthy and vigorous, actively engaged in business and happily married, fairly to be regarded as sexually normal. He writes as follows: "I have noticed that neither your book, nor Dr. Long's, outspoken as they are, says anything about urination in the Art of Love. I don't know if it is regarded as a perverted taste, but my instinct (for what it is worth) tells me that it is a natural feeling. My pleasure in these practices is shared by my wife and I know of other men who feel the same attraction. (It is well known also that a

¹ Brantôme, *Les Dames Galantes*, ed. Jouast, vol. ii, p. 38. No doubt the interest of the men was stimulated by the modesty of the women in regard to this function. Pierre de la Porte, First Valet de Chambre to Louis XIV, tells in his *Mémoires* (ed. Michaud, vol. viii, p. 19) how at the Court of Louis XIII, Mlle. Louise de Lafayette, maid of honor to Anne of Austria, once laughed so much in the presence of the King and Queen that "she made water beneath her, so that for a long time she did not dare to rise." At last the Queen made her get up, revealing "a large pool of water." The other ladies to shield her said it was lemon juice. But the Queen commanded La Porte to smell it and then wanted to examine all the ladies. The importance of the incident lies in the anxiety to conceal it. Freud (*Collected Papers*, vol. iii, p. 572) considers it remarkable that shame is associated with involuntary urination, but not with defecation. But this (so far as it is true) is easily explainable by the intimate connection between the urinary apparatus and the sex organs and the lack of such connection in the case of the bowels.

² See, for instance, numerous examples in Fuchs und Kind, *Die Weiberherrschaft*, Ergänzungsband, pp. 274 to end.

³ *Zt. f. Sexualwissenschaft*, Oct., 1910, p. 299.

VIII.

KLEPTOLAGNIA.

By kleptolagnia is meant theft associated with sexual excitement, or sexual "kleptomania."¹ The question is thus at once raised whether it is to be regarded as a subordinate variety of kleptomania. This further leads to the inquiry as to what kleptomania is, a long debated psychiatric and medico-legal question. The subject of kleptolagnia is thus of considerable practical as well as psychological interest, and it is desirable to attempt in some degree to clear up its nature and position.

This history of kleptomania begins in the eighteenth century.² Lavater incidentally referred to morbid thefts and Gall later (1825) dealt with the subject systematically. He regarded the child as naturally a thief, the youthful tendency to ignore the rights of property being modified with growth by happy organization, the influence of education, habit, and the fear of punishment. But in some individuals the tendency is so strong that these motive forces are ineffective. The judge must therefore seek to fortify imperfect personal inhibition by progressively aggravating the punishment. So that Gall would evidently have approved the judge who when a de-

¹ The term "Kleptolagnia" or "Kleptolagny," to indicate theft associated with sexual emotion, was devised by the late Dr. J. G. Kiernan of Chicago, a pioneer in America of the study of sexual psychology, about 1917 or a little earlier, on the analogy of "Algolagnia," and he advocated it in the *Urologic Review* for that and some subsequent years. He had previously studied "Kleptomania" in the *Alienist and Neurologist* for 1912 and elsewhere and pointed out its frequent sexual associations. When he suggested the new term to me I immediately adopted it, and in the *New York Medical Review of Reviews* for May, 1919, I published an article on "Kleptolagnia." I similarly adopt (following Kiernan) the term Pyrolagnia for "sexual Pyromania." Stekel has studied this anomaly in several chapters of his *Peculiarities of Behaviour*.

² It has been summarized by Juquelier and Vinchon, "Histoire de la Kleptomanie," *Revue de Psychiatrie*, Feb., 1914.

fence of kleptomania was pleaded before him observed: "That is what I am here to cure." At that time the doctrine of distinct "monomanias" was being set up by the psychiatrists, of whom Esquirol was the most distinguished, but neither he nor Pinel went so far as to assert positively the existence of a definite kleptomania. That step was taken in 1840 by Marc who originated the term "kleptomania" and regarded the disorder as an instinctive monomania. The kleptomaniac, in his view, was a hereditarily morbid person whose resistance to theft was diminished by some occasional cause which permitted him to be distinguished from the delinquent; but Marc entered, at the same time, a warning of the dangers of a too large or irreflective use of this doctrine. Trélat in 1861, also starting from Gall's doctrine of the normality of theft in childhood, held that if this natural tendency persisted after the age of thirteen there was a reason to fear its incurability and the subject would be a kleptomaniac. Marc in 1862, while admitting the delicacy and difficulty of the question, sought to give precision to the conception by insisting on the small value of the objects chosen, their often peculiar nature, the little use made of them, the social position of the thief, his heredity and mental state and physiological condition. In 1876, in the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales*, was set forth the doctrine of the day that, apart from the evidently insane, there exist kleptomaniacal persons whose acts are morbid and who on careful examination reveal signs of predisposition. Some years later, in 1900, Krafft-Ebing, while disavowing the doctrine of monomanias, accepted an impulsive insanity on the basis of degeneration, and placed in it, aside from definite insanity, a true kleptomania, in which theft was the isolated impulse of psychic degenerates.

There was, however, another stream of expert opinion definitely opposed to the conception of kleptomania as in any form a distinct monomania. On this side Morel was the leader in the middle of the last century. He only admitted the tendency to theft as associated with various other definitely insane symptoms, pathological manifestations, often periodic, of

"instinctive mania." Magnan popularized Morel's conception, and kleptomania became, especially in France, one of the episodic syndromes of degenerescence, rare in its true form, that is to say an irresistible obsession impelling to theft, with resistance, struggle, anguish, and finally, after the act is accomplished, the relief of tension. In Germany Kraepelin also based kleptomania on a predisposition; it was for him a rare morbid impulse, connected, like other obsessions, with manic-depressive insanity. That tendency has been wide-spread, and Ballet so classes kleptomania together with all other obsessions. But many observers everywhere have also insisted on the association of kleptomania with the early stages of general paralysis, and with epilepsy. The position in 1911 was summed up by Dubuisson and Vigouroux in their *Responsabilité Pénale et Folie*. . . .

Kleptomania, they say, is becoming less and less invoked as a defence since the pretended kleptomaniacs belong for the most part to categories already known, classed, and labelled. Cases may, however, they continue, still be admitted who seem to carry to the utmost the rule of "art for art" in theft, yet always with a motive, for it is difficult to find "true kleptomania" with an irresistible impulse to motiveless theft.

On the whole it may be said that the idea of kleptomania or morbid theft arose towards the end of the eighteenth century, in the movement of humane individualism characteristic of that time, as against the unintelligent pressure of society and law. During the last century, however, a reaction took place; the claims of society were set up against the anti-social acts of the individual, and it was felt that the assertion of these claims acted as a wholesome inhibitory force even on a morbid tendency to theft. The definition of kleptomania, and the classification of its forms, became most variously modified, and it was no longer usual to describe it as an absolutely irresistible impulse. But in some form or another, and indeed in many forms, the conception persisted, however vaguely, though there has been no clear realization of the motives for the morbid theft, beyond an attempt by Régis and others to regard it in its most

typical form as a mania of collectionism, and usually motives have been denied.

It is from this confused but persistent mass of facts and opinions that the definite conception of kleptolagnia as a clear, positive, and demonstrable group of cases, has slowly emerged. It may be said to have cast its shadow before. When Magnan and others described true kleptomania as an obsession with resistance, struggle, anxiety, followed by the act, with the satisfaction of relieved tension, they were describing, without knowing it, the actual psychic state of tumescence and detumescence in the sexual process. Others, again, came near the spot when they referred to the frequency of sexual perversion in association with kleptomania, and Garnier came very near when, though he failed to suspect sexual excitation, he described the case of a man who would steal satinette for the sake of the agreeable physical sensation the stuff gave him. But it seems to have been Lacassagne of Lyons, always a pioneer with the insight of genius, who first realized (at the Geneva Congress of Criminal Anthropology in 1896) that the theft may be accompanied by sexual excitement due to the emotional radiation of the fear of detection, and that this voluptuous element in the act is its motive. Lacassagne's illuminating statement seems to have attracted little or no attention.¹ The new situation was hardly grasped even by Zingerle who in Austria (in the *Jahrbuch für Psychiatrie* for 1900) made the next step forward by a careful medico-legal study of what we may now probably regard as a typical case of kleptolagnia. It concerned the young wife of an official, a woman with decidedly neurotic characteristics, who had no sexual satisfaction in marital intercourse but had experienced from her schooldays, usually at the end of the menstrual period, a high degree of sexual excitement when stealing various objects, especially if of brown leather. Afterwards she would destroy those objects or throw them away. Zingerle regarded the act as a sexual perversion, and concluded that the case was one of periodic and

¹ It was Kiernan who, many years later, brought it effectively under my notice.

brief acute psychosis in a psychic degenerate, involving irresponsibility. He made no reference to kleptomania but remarked, evidently without grasping the dynamic connection, that in degenerates trifling ideas were sometimes associated with sexual excitement.

During the next few years there was little progress, though the field was being prepared by the study of the sexual associations of anxiety. In dealing at some length with "Love and Pain" in the third volume of my *Studies*, I brought together much evidence showing how states of anxiety and allied emotional disturbances might overflow into the sexual sphere and produce sexual gratification, and that such methods of gratification were sometimes instinctively or deliberately employed. I was describing precisely the mechanism that underlies kleptomania, but I was not aware of it, and no one else seemed to know any better. Janet made fruitful observations on the instinctive effort in states of depression to gain necessary stimulation by violent means, one of which was stealing; Cullerre in 1905 showed that anxiety could act as a sexual excitant; and Freud attributed to *Angstneurosis* a sexual origin. Pilcz in 1908 recognized kleptomania as a sexual anomaly manifested in voluptuous emotions. But even in 1909 P. Hospital, studying "Kleptomanes et Vols aux Étalages" in the *Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, made no reference to sexual excitation, and concluded that kleptomania is rare and belongs to "the group of essential impulsive monomanias," though in the same year Kraepelin referred to the cases as numerous in which sexual excitement accompanied the act of stealing a sexual fetich, and in 1907 Gudden, who made one of the most careful and extensive studies of shop-lifters, concluded that they are mostly women near the menstrual period, yet he regarded the thefts as usually motiveless. The attitude of Kraepelin and Gudden is that maintained by Hirschfeld.¹

¹ Hirschfeld, *Sexualpathologie*, 1920, Teil iii, pp. 252 et seq. He states that he has had considerable experience of kleptomania, that it occurs shortly before or after menstruation, and that it is frequently associated with voluptuous feelings. He brings forward two cases, both with neurotic heredity.

It is in France, however, where the conception of kleptomania was originated and chiefly developed, that kleptolagnia was clearly demonstrated, first perhaps by Depouy in 1905 in the *Journal de Psychologie Normale et Pathologique*.¹ Most of the French cases involve the stuff-fetichisms, especially the attraction of silk, and the theft usually occurred near the menstrual period. One woman, a case of Depouy's, writes: "When I can steal silk, I am as it were intoxicated, I tremble; yet it is not fear, for I am not at all thinking of the horrible thing I have done; I only think of one thing: I go in a corner and crumple it at my ease, and then I have voluptuous feelings that are stronger even than I felt with the father of my children." Another woman, who would steal silk and especially black corsets, said that even the sight of these articles in a shop would make her heart beat and her sexual parts become wet; when she took one she was as happy as if she had received a treasure, though her satisfaction was swiftly followed by shame and remorse. Even when describing her act to the doctor she grew animated, her eyes bright, her face colored, her respiration rapid. Clérambault also studied a number of somewhat similar cases.² One of these cases, a woman of forty, frigid with men but a masturbator, noticed once, when as a young woman she was seated in her room on a velvet chair, that the contact of the velvet produced an agreeable sensation. She thus fell into the habit of sitting astride the chair, obtaining sexual excitement by friction with the velvet and finally acquired a passion for stealing silk remnants which she would apply to her sexual parts and then throw away. But even the mere act of stealing them would itself give her sexual enjoyment. There was insanity in her family. Clérambault insists on the marked tactile element in all such cases and con-

¹ It may, however, be remarked that Krafft-Ebing and other authors had described cases—without fully realizing their significance—which may fairly be described as coming under the head of kleptolagnia. Krafft-Ebing stated that erotic fetichism may lead to the crime of theft, but failed to grasp any intimate connection.

² *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, June, 1908, and August, 1910. Clérambault was inclined to term this anomaly *hephephilia* or stuff-erotism.

cludes that this condition tends to involve a combination of precocity, frigidity, and masturbation. He seems to have recognized the symbolic element, and thinks there is a tendency for women to like stuff fetiches that are stiff and for men to like soft ones.¹

Another French case, that of a Parisian woman leading a *demi-mondaine's* life, is reported by Vinchon. She had been a lively and sexually precocious child, but only began to steal at the age of 34, when the first signs of the menopause prematurely began to appear. Her thefts were accompanied by sexual and general excitement. Vinchon further brings forward the case of a girl belonging to a Lyons silk-weaving family who came to Paris and worked at silk corsets. At the age of 17 she began to have a special taste for silk, and experienced a curious shudder on crumpling silk. She had a lover a few years later, an author, and bore several children. After ten years, when she was 31, her lover died and she began to masturbate with silk. It was at the age of 36, in convalescence after typhoid, that she began to steal, and the act gave her more vivid pleasure than she had ever experienced by ordinary masturbation with silk. Immediately after the act she would experience exhaustion with disgust and shame, and she disliked being questioned on the subject.²

A more recent case in French literature comes from Copenhagen and is reported by Wimmer who believes that the frequency of this impulse is underestimated because it is most usually "platonic" and not actually executed. A married woman, aged 28, of neurotic heredity, during her pregnancies has a strong impulse to theft which she finds it very difficult to repress; if she succeeds in repressing it she vomits, and she cannot always succeed. The theft is followed by a powerful

¹ Boas ("Ueber Hephephilia," *Archiv für Kriminal-Anthropologie*, Bd. 61) denies that cases like Clérambault's are genuine fetichisms, and from the standpoint of the earliest conception of erotic fetichism that opinion seems sound. Sadger, on the other hand (*Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, 1921, p. 336), considers that they probably are fetichisms and the equivalent of the penis; that is to say that they are, in my sense of the term, symbolic fetichisms.

² Vinchon, *Journal de Médecine de Paris*, 1914.

orgasm with a delicious sensation such as she has never experienced in coitus or otherwise.¹

Two other recent cases, from Italy, are of interest as being both of men. They are reported by Dr. Benigno di Tullio, a prison surgeon in Rome. Two brothers, pickpockets, aged 34 and 20, both came under observation in prison. The heredity was neuropathic with a tendency to epilepsy, which is regarded as significant. The elder brother presented numerous physiological anomalies and had never been able to learn a trade owing to psychic inaptitude for work. His prison career began at 12. He stated that he could not resist the impulse to steal and that when it seized him he seemed out of his mind. The act was accompanied by a feeling of pleasure, "so that I ejaculate as if I had been with a woman." He added that normal coitus gave him little pleasure, but that it was increased if the woman insulted him in violent language. The other brother is also abnormal and unduly emotional; he has suffered from convulsions and partial paralysis. He began pocket-picking at the age of 14. "At the moment of stealing," he said, "I feel full of mad joy; and as soon as I can get away I ejaculate; it seems as if I had been with a woman." Benigno di Tullio regards these cases as a form of feticism in subjects predisposed to epilepsy, and adds that psycho-analysis, which it was not possible to carry out, might have revealed a definite motive in sexual infantilism.² However that may be, we are certainly in the presence of kleptomania. The cases are indeed highly typical and instructive, for we clearly see the mechanism at work. The normal sexual impulse is weak, and the nervous energy generated by the emotions accompanying the theft, in highly unstable organisms, overflows into the sexual sphere and excites the orgasm. Benigno di Tullio invokes the suggestion put forward by Ottolenghi in a lecture, that in such cases the association of sexual excitement with

¹ August Wimmer. "De la Kleptomanie," *Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, March, 1921.

² Benigno di Tullio, "Un Raro Caso di Feticismo," *Rassegna di Studi Sessuali*, July-Aug., 1924.

left may be congenital and comparable to color-hearing. This suggestion seems unnecessary when we realize the dynamic mechanism at work.

In the United States, immediately after Depouy's first paper, but apparently in ignorance of it, W. L. Howard well illustrated the fetichistic clue to which so much importance has often been attached in the explanation of this group of cases.¹ He described the case of a young woman, of good birth and antecedents, quite normal, who, never having before experienced any developed sexual emotions, one evening, at a fashionable summer resort, met an attractive man who was attentive to her. She flirted with him to a slight degree, and chanced to note, with no special feelings, that he was unconsciously displaying the blue garter which supported his silk hose. On returning home, for the first time in her life she began to have erotic reveries, which started with the subconscious visualization of the blue garter and led on to the vision of masculine virility. Erotic daydreams were, however, unsatisfactory, as it was difficult to picture the wearer of the garter. One day she saw in a shop an exact duplicate of her fetish. She instantly appropriated it, and on returning home immediately went to her bedroom and fondled it, and soon found herself masturbating with it. The practice continued; but in order to obtain orgasm it was necessary not only to have a new garter every time, but to obtain it in a surreptitious manner, corresponding, as Howard remarks, to a clandestine meeting with her ideal. She was finally detected, and on investigation her family found a large collection of such garters, "useless and trivial articles," in her possession. Her acts were pronounced to be the symptoms of marked kleptomania, and she kept her own secret, for she knew she had been guilty of deliberate stealing for the sake of sexual gratification which she could not obtain, though she would have preferred so to obtain it, naturally. How many

¹W. L. Howard, "Some Forms of Kleptomania the Result of Fetichistic Impulses," *Medicine*, Dec., 1906. He admitted that "strictly speaking the cases are not those of 'Kleptomania' for the object is secretly appropriated for a specific reason." Howard would term it physiological fetichism."

cases of alleged motiveless "kleptomania," supposedly due to "mental degeneration," Howard asks, are really due to the care with which women have similarly kept their own secrets.

Although kleptolagnia is specially found among women, it may also, as we have seen, occur in men. Glueck has recorded the case of a colored American youth, aged 23, who began to steal at an early age. It is not actually clear that his thefts were originally prompted, consciously or unconsciously, by sexual motives, but it is stated that during his first act of stealing he experienced a feeling akin to sexual emotion. Later he began to steal objects for which he had no use, on one occasion a dozen bricks. Neither prison sentences nor the efforts of his father to break the habit by supplying him with all that he desired had any curative effect. He stole for the sake of the intense emotion and excitement he experienced when stealing. Before the act there was a peculiar restlessness growing in intensity; during the act there was much physical excitement, with panting respiration and perspiration, as if he had run a race; "after it is all over I feel exhausted and relieved." He himself spontaneously compared these experiences to coitus.¹

The nature of kleptolagnia, as brought out by such cases as these, is fairly clear. The subject, though often neurotic, is not necessarily highly degenerate. The act, far from being motiveless or in a strict sense irresistible, has a definite and intelligible motive and is carried out with reasonable precaution. The instinctive desire is to secure sexual excitation which cannot be obtained—for whatever reason—in more normal ways, by reinforcing the feeble sexual impulse by the stimulus furnished by the emotions of fear and anxiety which necessarily accompany the perpetration of a theft. There is no desire to appropriate the stolen object for purpose of gain, and when its sexual effect has been obtained, either in the act of stealing or by subsequent masturbation, it is hidden away or destroyed.

The question arises as to the exact place and status of kleptolagnia. We have seen that the conception really repre-

¹ B. Glueck, *Studies in Forensic Psychiatry*, Ch. V, Boston, 1916.

nts the outcome of two lines of investigation. On the one hand it has been reached through the medico-legal study of kleptomania, on the other hand by the psychological study of sexual aberrations.

If we first consider its relation to kleptomania, we are faced by the alternative that either it is not a sub-division of kleptomania in any exact sense, or else we must certainly revise our conception of kleptomania. The former alternative is generally selected. Kleptomania, in the classic sense, is an irresistible and motiveless impulse to theft, at first regarded as "monomania" standing by itself, but later (and even as early as Griesinger) as with wider relationship, now usually as an obsession or an imperative conception or a period in psychosis on a basis of "degeneration," such as epilepsy, general paresis, manic-depressive insanity, or other profoundly morbid states. But kleptolagnia, far from being motiveless, is precisely motivated, and, however powerful an impulse, can by no means be described as irresistible, for it is held in check until a favorable moment for its gratification occurs. Thus Kiernan, who has repeatedly discussed this subject, held that kleptolagnia is not kleptomania, and not even necessarily morbid since fully controllable, though this test of morbidity, I may remark, admits of question.

We may go further and throw doubt upon the whole conception of kleptomania. When the idea first arose in the eighteenth century it was justifiable, and it was in accordance with the psychological knowledge of the time. It is no longer in accordance with our knowledge, and it is no longer needed on humane reasons since its alternative is now equally humane. We can no longer make any dogmatic statements about "irresistible impulses"; and if a theft may ever fairly be said to be due to an irresistible impulse we are then concerned with a subject whose mental disintegration is so far advanced that the tendency to theft becomes a negligible symptom. Absence of motive is an even more unsound basis for classification. It tells us nothing about the case, it merely describes our own ignorance. The actions demanded by any complex process in

any sphere of life must seem to us to be marked by "absence of motive," so long as we are ignorant. The stages in our knowledge of life are marked by a discovery of a motive where before we could see no motive. "Kleptomania," Dubuisson has remarked, "is not an explanation: it is merely a word." It is already sinking into the same obscurity as "pyromania."

Kleptolagnia, on the other hand, is a precise and intelligible psychic state, though its affinities are really only to a slight degree with the old kleptomania. The theft, which for the medico-legist was in kleptomania the great outstanding fact, is in the psychological conception of kleptolagnia a secondary and subsidiary fact. The condition more properly belongs to sexual psychology, and especially to the sphere of what I am inclined to term erotic symbolism under its subdivision of erotic fetichism. But under that heading it represents a distinct and special class. The fetich is not necessarily a normally desirable or attractive object associated with the opposite sex, but merely any object that has become accidentally associated with sexual emotion; that is in large measure why its stimulatory force needs to be reinforced by the additional stimulus derived from the explosive energy of the emotions generated by the theft. Hair-despoilers, who derive sexual gratification from the act of secretly cutting off girls' tresses, form the link of connection between kleptolagnists and more normal erotic fetichists.

There remain to be mentioned, finally, two closely allied combinations of sexual impulse with theft which yet must be clearly distinguished from kleptolagnia in the sense in which it has here been described. The first of these is the psycho-analytic conception of kleptomania as especially set forth by Stekel in 1908. Stekel was, indeed, preceded a year earlier, as he himself has pointed out, by Otto Gross,¹ but to him be-

¹ O. Gross, *Das Freudsche Ideogenitätsmoment*, 1907. Gross reported the case of a healthy girl, living with an impotent man, who began to steal all sorts of objects. Her thefts were thus not fetichistic but, Gross believes, symbolic, "secretly to take something forbidden." When her lover's impotence was cured the impulse disappeared.

longs the credit for setting out this conception clearly and fully.¹ Stekel is not dealing with erotic theft, that is with theft as a method of sexual gratification—making indeed no reference to kleptolagnia as here understood—but with theft as a substitute for sexual gratification. It is, he believes, the result of repressed sexual emotion, apt to occur, for instance, in the wives of impotent men who crave a forbidden act. A theft is such a forbidden act. So that we are concerned with a transposition of emotions from the sexual into the criminal sphere. The sexual root of kleptomania is indicated, Stekel asserts, by the generally symbolic (not narrowly fetichistic) character of the objects stolen; they are frequently umbrellas (intended to be erected) and other objects which have a sexual symbolism. "The knowledge of sexual symbolism is the key to the comprehension of kleptomania." Stekel finds that when the woman is restored to normal sexual relationship the thefts cease. It may well be that, as regards some cases, there is a real basis of truth in this theory. But, as sometimes happens with psycho-analytic investigators, Stekel gives it an undue extension to cover all cases of "kleptomania," even in children, who when they steal are to be regarded as sexually precocious, and however plausible, and in some cases probable, this conception remains, in its generalized form, rather speculative. In any case it fails to coincide with the cases of what is here called kleptolagnia, in which the theft is not perpetrated as a subconscious substitute for sexual gratification but as a direct means of obtaining it. It has also been truly pointed out by Kiernan that Stekel shows himself uncritical, and ignorant of the present position of psychiatry in his unquestioning acceptance of the ancient doctrine of kleptomania and of the mono-

¹ W. Stekel, "Die Sexuelle Wurzel der Kleptomanie," *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, Oct., 1908. Stekel has more recently (1923) dealt with kleptomania in *Der Fetischismus*. He here states (p. 39) that "the kleptomaniac impulse is a transformation of the sexual impulse when repressed by the incest-prohibition." See also Stekel, *Twelve Essays on Sex and Psychoanalysis*, New York, 1922, and *Peculiarities of Behaviour*, Chs. VII-X. Stekel finds that the subject is seldom conscious of the sexual motive; "the affective overtone is there but without the sexual counterpoint," and they live in a fairy realm.

manias generally. He unnecessarily vitiates his conception by grafting it into that discredited doctrine. Placzek's conception of "kleptomania" may also be associated with Stekel's as he traces it to sexual inhibition leading to theft as substitute for the desired satisfaction; he considers it may be an experience of the normal life, though chiefly found combined with hysteria and menstrual disturbances, accompanied by *pseudologia phantastica*.¹

That there may be an element of truth in Stekel's conception, and that we have here a group of cases which it is proper to include in this connection, is indicated by another example of theft in a child brought forward by Mary Chadwick of London.² A little girl from the age of five stole such objects as pins, pencils, and pennies. She really desired to obtain a *baby*, *knowledge*, and the *penis*. It is argued that her thefts were symbols of the things she coveted. She was not being intelligently brought up, and when rationally treated, and matters explained to her, she recovered.

The other manifestation of pathological stealing associated with the sexual impulse, but to be clearly distinguished from kleptomania, is that which has been especially worked out and clearly demonstrated by Healy of Chicago in his great work on *The Individual Delinquent* and later in *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*.³ These cases occur in youths as well as girls, led into sexual temptations which yet seem to them intensely abhorrent and wicked, with a resultant conflict from which they subconsciously seek an escape by yielding to what they regard as the less reprehensible temptation of theft, so that Healy is inclined to regard the stealing as a kind of sexual symbolism. This conception moves in the psycho-analytic sphere and at a first glance it may seem indistinguishable from Stekel's concep-

¹ Placzek, *Das Geschlechtsleben der Hysterischen*, 2d ed., 1922, p. 85.

² Mary Chadwick, "A Case of Kleptomania in a Girl of Ten Years," *International Journal of Psycho-analysis*, July, 1925.

³ W. Healy, *The Individual Delinquent*, 1915; *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*, 1917; see in the latter work especially the cases beginning on pp. 125, 175, 204, 243.

tion. It might indeed be possible so to formulate it as to make it appear identical with that. But it is really quite distinct. The theft is not here a symbol of repressed sexual desire. That precisely is the source of the psychic trouble. The sexual temptation is yielded to, in act or at least in thought, and instead of the theft proving a substitute for sexual gratification the tendency to steal is apt to become more violent the more the sexual temptation is gratified.¹ Conflict is of the essence of the process, and the theft is an instinctive effort to solve the conflict by turning the psychic energies into an equally violent but, as it is felt, less evil channel. This is distinct from Stekel's conception of theft as a symbolic gratification of repressed sexual desire. At the same time it is the very reverse of kleptolagnia, which is an effort to attain the direct gratification of the sexual impulse by the aid of the emotional energy generated by the excitement of the theft.²

¹ Perhaps to the same group, though here there was an absence of conscious sexual desire or gratification, belong those cases of theft in young women, whose histories are narrated by Dr. Edith Spaulding (*American Journal of Insanity*, Jan., 1920). In these cases, it is held, the thefts represent attempts to compensate for emotional repression associated with distressing mental conflict.

² Kleptolagnia and allied conditions are so far only beginning to become of medico-legal interest. In Rhodesia, South Africa (*Rhodesia Herald*, Jan. 19, 1923, quoted in *Jour. Ment. Science*, July, 1923, p. 351), an unhappily married woman was charged with a long series of unmotivated thefts. The defence was kleptomania (not insanity) due to sexual repression. This defence was not accepted by the magistrate who imposed a fine.

IX.

THE HISTORY OF MARRIAGE.

I.

The subject of marriage, regarded in its essential meaning, is of universal and everlasting interest. That proposition may look like a truism. But marriage in its narrow sense is a mere social institution, possibly of only local or temporary existence. In its true biological sense alone is it no merely human institution but the substance of the process by which all the chief forms of life have persisted on the earth. Millions of years before Man appeared, supposing that self-consciousness ever arose, it is marriage that would have been a leading topic of meditation or of dispute. Still today the questions that most affect our well-being or even continuance on the earth as individuals, as families, as nations, or as a species,—the questions of heredity, eugenics, sex education, birth control, sterilization, divorce, the place of woman and the care of the child,—they are all merely aspects of the central problem of marriage. Into the making of a proper account of marriage there enter biology, physiology and embryology, psychology, ethnography, folk-lore, the study of magic and religion, economics, law. A really adequate book on marriage must not only be a book of profound importance for the welfare of the race, it must also be one of the most absorbingly interesting for all who feel the smallest concern in themselves or their fellows.

A completely adequate history of marriage we can hardly expect to see. No one person could master all the disciplines of study that must go to the making of it, and the separate work of a group of experts, each in his own field competent, could not be fused into any living and harmonious whole. But the nearest approximation to such a completely

adequate history is the great work of Professor Westermarck.¹ The foregoing remarks imply that the definition of what "marriage" is cannot be taken for granted. To many people, no doubt, it may seem that no definition is needed. Yet that is far from being so, and it cannot even be said that among students of the subject there is yet quite a clear agreement as to what we are to understand by "marriage." Westermarck stated the subject of his book to be "Human Marriage," and that clearly involved a natural biological conception of marriage. In that sense, Westermarck has defined it as "a more or less durable connection between male and female, lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of the offspring." But short of this natural history sense of the term, marriage may be regarded in a narrower sense as a social institution, "a union regulated by custom or law."² In this special and more usual sense "marriage" is not simply a method of sexual association. It is an *institution*, and while it gives "the right to sexual intercourse it is not necessarily exclusive."

Dr. Malinowski, who today perhaps speaks with the best knowledge, both intimate and scientific, of savage life, confirms Westermarck on this point, and even more explicitly.³ Marriage, he holds, is not merely to be identified with "sexual appropriation." It is to be regarded, rather, as "an institution based on complex social conditions," of which sexual appropria-

¹ *The History of Human Marriage*. Fifth edition, re-written. By Edward Westermarck, Ph.D., LL.D. London: Macmillan. Three volumes, 1922. There a short version of the *History* in one volume (1926). Two subsequent works on marriage, complementary to Westermarck's, may be mentioned, though written in complete independence of it and from other points of view: *Die Vollkommene Ehe* (1926) by a Dutch gynecologist, Dr. T. H. van de Velde, an elaborate treatise on marriage as primarily an erotic relationship, and *Die Ehe* (1927), a handbook on the physiology, psychology, hygiene and eugenics of marriage, written by a group of German physicians, men and women, and edited by Dr. Max Marcuse. I would add Briffault's notable work, *The Mothers*, which contains many acute criticisms of Westermarck and must be studied by all interested in these questions.

² Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, Ch. XL. *History of Marriage*, vol. i, Ch. I.

³ For instance in *Nature*, 22 April, 1922.

tion," Dr. Westermarck discusses them and compares them with his own. There is the way of Dr. Rivers in England and of the French school founded by Durkheim. These and other investigators are disposed to regard a society as an organism which must be studied by methods of "pure" sociology. Explanations on the comparative basis or on the psychological basis are regarded as too hazardous and quite unnecessary. But, as Westermarck points out, while such hazards undoubtedly exist, the hazards of the other method are equal and even greater; Durkheim was prepared to draw conclusions concerning the religious conceptions of Man at large from the study of totemic Australian tribes, while Rivers, so opposed to psychological conjectures, was himself profuse in conjecture. But Dr. Westermarck, with the sanity and breadth which inspire confidence in his work, is far from wishing to condemn methods to which he does not himself attach prime importance. He concludes that they are all helpful, each complementary to the others, and all likely to aid in enlarging and defining our knowledge.

In its present and probably final state there is perhaps only one work with which *The History of Human Marriage* can be compared, and that is the now still more extensive *Golden Bough*, which has been the chief life-work of Sir James G. Frazer. The two works have obvious points of resemblance; they are both by men of immense learning who are concerned with the investigation of the operations of the primitive mind and the details of primitive human practice in order to trace the sources of the mental operations and social practices of mankind today. The two investigations in fact often overlap. Frazer enters Westermarck's sphere and there is no writer to whom Westermarck refers so often as Frazer. But when that is said, and we come to look closer, it is the differences that we note. Frazer, in his discursive way, touches nearly every aspect of human thought and action, throwing out brilliant suggestions in many directions. Westermarck, though his net is cast as wide, or even wider, is only concerned to gather in what bears on one subject, and while dealing with the

most diverse aspects of it, he is methodically seeking to elucidate a single social institution of primary importance to mankind. Frazer seems always to have instinctively before him the ideals of literary scholarship, Westermarck the ideals of biological science. Frazer is something of an artist; we divine in him a certain pleasure in the charm and strangeness of some of his own speculations; he seeks after style, and is even willing, as in the last and oft-quoted paragraph of his great work, to attain a fine effect by a deliberate sacrifice of probability. For Westermarck there is no question of "purple patches"; he is manipulating a language which is not natively his own and is content to attain the scientific qualities of precision and clarity; we realize, moreover, that these qualities of writing fit the qualities of his mind; he is not concerned with aesthetic effects, and, one imagines, would rather put forward no speculations at all than any which do not seem solidly based. So that while both these great works are of profound interest to a reader who has any intelligent care for the problems of human life and thought, he is likely to read the *Golden Bough* for its brilliance and excitement and far-reaching suggestion, and the *History of Human Marriage* for the steady illumination and weighty judgment which it brings to the most vitally intimate of social institutions.

If we compare this *History* in its full development with the other great work on which its author's fame is chiefly based, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, the latter work appears as in effect a series of monographs on the various human virtues or vices,—for what from one point of view is a virtue is sometimes from another a vice,—but it is its unity which makes the *History* so impressive. A number of different avenues are opened before us, but each of them leads to the same great central human institution, each enables us to see better from a fresh and illuminating point of view some essential aspect of it.

Yet while the *History* is dominated by the sense of unity it is possible to find here a series of fascinating monographs on the most diverse, the most attractive, sometimes the most prac-

tical topics. Courtship, modesty, self-decoration by ornament and clothing, the primitive pairing season, and all the various forms of marriage, group-marriage, monogamy, polygyny, polyandry, as well as celibacy and divorce,—all these and many other topics render the *History* attractive to a multitude of various readers.

This last subject of Divorce is dealt with at length, both in its savage and civilized aspects; Dr. Westermarck finds that marriage tends to be durable even among peoples in primitive stages of culture, as we should expect if it really rests on a natural biological basis. It is because marriage is so natural an institution that we need not fear to allow a large freedom of divorce, as well as of variation, for that freedom cannot destroy but will, rather, confirm its stability and purify its practice. It seems reasonable, Westermarck concludes, that "a contract entered into by mutual consent should also be dissolved by mutual consent"; such freedom of divorce is necessary as "a means of preserving the dignity of marriage," and is even necessary in the interests of the children.

It is inevitable that, when the sections of the work are thus examined in detail, criticisms arise. The *History* was planned from the outset—as even its name indicates—on the broadest basis of natural science, but not only can we not expect to find an author, however painstaking and accomplished, proficient in every scientific discipline involved, there cannot fail, also, to be aspects of the subject which, perhaps even deliberately, he leaves aside. Thus, though we find here chapters on celibacy as well as on divorce, there is no detailed consideration of the subject, even more germane to the central question, of the regulation of the size of the family, nor is there any mention of eugenics, although we are constantly brought close to unconscious eugenics.¹ Abortion and infanticide have been dealt with elsewhere by Dr. Westermarck, and are only in-

¹ Almost immediately after the publication of this new edition of the *History*, Mr. Carr-Saunders published his work, *The Population Problem: A Study in Human Evolution*, which precisely fills this blank, and the more satisfactorily as its author writes in something of the same scientific and scholarly spirit as Dr. Westermarck.

cidentally touched on here. But a chapter setting forth and elucidating the gradually progressive regulation and limitation of the size of the family, first by infanticide, then by abortion, and finally by deliberate contraception, would have been not only much to the point but of real help in an age when this aspect of marriage has become so prominent and when so many people, who cling to the ideals of an earlier stage of civilization, yet experience terror and indignation in the presence of later forms of civilization.

There is another form of marriage which Dr. Westermarck has not included and could not include because it has hardly yet acquired historical position although it is becoming an increasingly common form of marriage, however unrecognized or illegitimate. The form in question is that which Dr. Knight has termed the "companionate." That is to say the union of two people for sexual companionship without the intention of producing offspring.¹

It constantly happens under civilized conditions that a young man and woman may not desire, or may not be eugenically entitled, or not able to afford, to rear a family, or even to depend, both of them, on the earnings of one, but they desire each other's social and sexual companionship, while each earning his or her own living, under his or her own name, and retaining an individual relation to the state and to the tax-gatherer. Under present conditions the alternatives open to them are neither satisfactory. For they must either marry and accept all the obligations, disabilities, and compulsions which marriage, as at present constituted, imposes, or they must, as so often happens, form a more or less secret union, with all the difficulties and deceits it involves, and the risks of discovery and humiliation. Both alternatives are bad. They are not only socially unwholesome, but to both the individuals concerned, whose aim is altogether legitimate and honorable, they are alike absolutely unjust. The open recognition and accep-

¹ M. Knight, "The Companionate and the Family: The Unobserved Division of an Historical Institution," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, New York, May, 1924.

tance of a "companionate" is today an urgent demand of social hygiene. It is, under modern conditions, a great benefit to the individual, and it inflicts no injury on the community, but rather, indirectly, great benefits, not only in the sense that every benefit to individuals is necessarily a benefit to the community they constitute but because it would increase social sincerity and at the same time form a powerful lever to aid in the removal of prostitution. It need scarcely be said that such a companionate could at any time be voluntarily terminated at the will of the parties concerned and that it would terminate automatically, and become legal marriage, by the birth of children.¹

Although it is impossible to contest Dr. Westermarck's learning (to which indeed the list of "Authorities Quoted," extending to 120 pages, sufficiently testifies), and equally impossible to doubt the well-considered weight of his judgments, points of detail must still remain open for criticism. There can never be complete agreement on some of the obscure problems connected with the evolution of marriage, nor can anyone ever be completely competent to discuss all its varied aspects. The study of the psychological basis of marriage has in this new edition been greatly extended, with much care, and, it might be added, courage, for Dr. Westermarck holds that "the concealment of truth is the only indecorum known to science." From the standpoint of sexual physiology and psychology there is, however, sometimes more to be said than is here brought forward; for instance, in the chapter on "Female Coyness" the physiological reasons for the need of courtship in the female require to be supplemented to complete the account of the processes probably involved; and a high degree of excitement in the female in sexual intercourse may be desirable not only to produce lubrication of the female passage but also to aid in providing the movements of the organs which favor conception. One may also note the almost complete absence of reference to

¹ Judge Ben Lindsey has put forth a persuasive presentation of this view in his book, *The Companionate Marriage* (1927).

he psycho-analytic explanations of sexual and social phenomena which have of recent years been put forward.

No doubt it seemed hazardous to so cautious an investigator to venture into a field which has been invaded by the ignorant and the cranky. But that field has now also been entered by many serious thinkers, even sociologists, so that psycho-analytic explanations deserve at least consideration, the more so at Dr. Westermarck's hands since they carry on those psychological lines of explanation to which he reasonably attaches importance. Thus in elucidating the custom of the efforation of a bride by some other man than her husband (to which a whole chapter is here devoted) the view which Freud has worked out needs to be mentioned, however it is regarded.¹ He has found that, even at the present day, there is an instinctive antagonism on the woman's part to the first approach of the man; that the first intercourse is more likely to bring disillusion than satisfaction, and that this frequently leads to permanent alienation from the husband,—the man who has been compelled to put himself in this undesirable position,—and hence to many unhappy marriages. It was an advantage to the husband, and a security for successful marriage, if he transferred this instinctive hostility of the bride to some other man. In more civilized times such an arrangement was rendered impossible, in part by the development of a refinement of luxury which made the possession of a virgin seem peculiarly desirable, and in part by the growth of new moral conventions. But in earlier days the custom was widespread in many parts of the world, and assumed many disguises. Much ingenuity has been expended over its explanation. The favorite view has been that it is due to the magically dangerous results of intercourse with a virgin, and the most fantastic ideas have been put forward to explain why, if that is so, any one could be found to risk undertaking this operation for the husband's benefit. An investigation into the attitude of women

¹ S. Freud, *Sammlung Kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, 4th series, 1918, Beiträge zur Psychologie des Liebeslebens: Das Tabu der Virginität, pp. 229-251.

in civilization shows, Freud believes, that there really is a "danger" here, so that the primitive man with his tabu of virginity was protecting himself against a rightly divined though really psychic danger. "The tabu of virginity is thus sensible enough, and we may understand that proscription which commanded the avoidance of these dangers to the man who desired to enter into a permanent union with a woman." No doubt those who accept Freud's explanation would admit that this custom, like so many other primitive customs, has been embroidered over with magic, but Dr. Westermarck, who is inclined to accept the old magical theory, seems to have forgotten that he has elsewhere definitely stated that magic can only affect the mere rites of marriage, and we cannot dismiss defloration as a mere rite.

Another point on which it is possible to differ from Dr. Westermarck is in regard to primitive knowledge of physiological paternity. Dr. Hartland in 1909, in his work on *Primitive Paternity*, developed the view that primitive man was ignorant of the physiological need of a father in the production of children. Some of the evidence he adduced was open to criticism, but evidence has since been brought forward by careful investigators tending to show that this ignorance may be found still, even when sexual intercourse is recognized as a valuable aid in the causation of children. Malinowski, especially, has investigated with much care, among the Trobriand Islanders, the primitive theory of conception.¹ Westermarck, however, while not reaching any absolute conclusions, confesses that he still has "some doubts as to the present existence of any savage tribe where child-birth is considered to be completely independent of sexual intercourse." It must certainly be admitted, as even Malinowski shows, that savage beliefs concerning the precise function of the father are sometimes very complicated.

There are many such points at which it might be possible to carry further, or perhaps to qualify, the views put forward

¹ See, for instance, B. Malinowski, "The Psychology of Sex in Primitive Societies," *Psyche*, Oct., 1923, pp. 110 *et seq.*

in this *History*. But they do not affect the solidity of a work elaborated with such patient care and thought, with so constant an eye to its larger outlines, that it constitutes one of the chief scientific monuments of our time.

On some aspects of the history of marriage Dr. Westermarck was from the first opposed to influential schools of thought. This was especially so as regards the theory of the origin of later marriage systems out of a primitive promiscuity. Many eminent authorities have adopted this theory, which owed much to the brilliant and learned work of the Swiss jurist, Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*, published in 1861. From Switzerland Rousseau in the eighteenth century brought a Romantic Movement into the world; from the same land in the same century Noverre came to renovate the ballet with the life-blood of romance; in our own century Swiss physicians have made a romantic religion out of psycho-analysis, much to the disgust of its founder. Similarly, it was from Switzerland, in the last century, that Bachofen came to bring the Romantic movement into the origin of society, with his conception of a free primitive community in which women ruled since they alone were recognizable as parents.¹

Dr. Westermarck here tells us that he had at first approached this question with a disposition to accept the sexual promiscuity of early Man. But the evidence failed to convince him even when writing the first edition of his *History*. Now he has gone into the matter far more elaborately, devoting seven chapters to a careful examination of the facts and of the arguments based on them, and still maintains his former position. With so powerful a presentation of the case against the theory of primitive promiscuity, it should no longer be possible for anyone to speak of that theory as "established." It may be, however, that many will still be inclined to believe, though they cannot prove, that, improbable as actual promiscuity may have been, early Man often passed through a stage

¹ A learned and elaborate work somewhat in the same sense is Briffault's *The Mothers*, 3 vols, 1927. Much valuable material is here brought together, though it needs to be approached critically.

unlike that which prevails alike among the apes and among highly civilized peoples, marked by complex marriage relationships or some sort of group marriage.¹ We must not assume that early Man was monogamous because the apes frequently are. It is even possible that, if he had been, he would have remained much nearer to the apes. A complex marriage system, binding together a group of people, would not only constitute a valuable instrument for making associated progress in a still difficult world, but, without having any teleological end, it would form a highly important training in the discipline of the instincts, and the development of the intelligence. Later, when other methods for seeking those ends became possible, the stress of circumstance on the sexual instinct might well fall away and the later condition of Man in this respect again approach that which existed in the root-stock from which Man sprang. That is possible to believe, though it is not at present possible to prove.

There is another important question, here dealt with through two chapters, on which Dr. Westermarck has not completely succeeded in carrying conviction, and has now modified his statement in form though not in substance. That is the question of Exogamy, or the prohibition to marry within the group, which Westermarck reasonably (as I think) associated with, and explained by, the generally greater sexual attraction felt for persons outside one's own domestic circle, and the consequent rarity of incestuous attraction. Unfortunately, however, Dr. Westermarck had placed the emphasis on the wrong side of this ambivalent attitude and asserted the existence of an "instinct of aversion." The present writer—while, as Dr. Westermarck remarks, strengthening his position—many years ago objected that there was no need to assume any such instinct since the phenomenon in question is merely the negative

¹ Students of early society are, it is true, often very cautious about admitting the existence of group marriage. Thus Malinowski remarks that when we find groups living in sexual communion we are not to jump to the conclusion that this is "group marriage." But he admits that the Trobriand Islanders of New Guinea, whom he has himself specially studied, possess an institution nearly resembling group marriage.

aspect of the positive facts of sexual attraction, only appear as a pronounced "aversion" when it is definitely presented to the mind, and not instinctively.¹ Now Dr. Westermarck drops the assumption of an "instinct of aversion" and the only serious objections to his position fall away, though it is possible that he might even put the matter a little more clearly and positively, a little less negatively. He refers to a boy in Finland who made a distinction between the girls of his own school, and other girls, the latter only being what he termed "real" girls. That boy was quite correct. There is no "aversion" from the women of one's own group, far from it. Yet the girl with whom one has not grown up from childhood, and become accustomed to, is best fitted to be to us, in the sexual sense, a real girl. That is to say, she alone possesses those powerful stimuli to the sense of sexual desirability, never developed in the people one has grown unconsciously used to, which are essential to the making of a real girl. And the girl herself feels similarly.

All this is bound up with the fundamental facts of sex psychology in Man and lower animals alike, and there is good biological reason why it should be. How much Dr. Westermarck gained by abandoning the "instinct of aversion" may be seen by the remarks of Freud, completely rejecting his original theory, which he here quotes. Freud states, quite truly, that psycho-analytically, it is impossible to accept an "innate aversion" to incestuous feeling. That rejection is no longer to the point; the Westermarckian view, as now stated, becomes even more coherent than the Freudian, for Freud regards the infantile incestuous tendencies to which he attaches importance as violently repressed in later childhood; but it is far more plausible to argue that, in the healthily born, they die out naturally and normally under the usure of familiar life, without stronger stimuli from outside are applied. There is no need to invoke any "violent repression," save in exceptional cases. As Mapother states, perhaps even a little too emphatically

¹ *Studies*, vol. iv, p. 205.

"It seems very natural that the sexual tendencies of puberty should often be incestuous. There seems little need to regard this tendency as specific, or to dignify it with special names. [He is referring to the "Oedipus Complex," the "Electra Complex," etc.] The adolescent takes as the material for fantasy-production that which is available. If juvenile incest were a common cause of psychosis the mental hospitals would require considerable enlargement."¹ The occasional slight sexual attraction between near relations in early life and its usual disappearance at puberty or adolescence are thus both alike natural and normal. Dr. Westermarck might have pointed out that, in our civilization, the examples of really passionate incestuous attraction which now and then arise are nearly always between those persons who have been separated during the pubertal period, so that the dulling effect of familiar life on the development of sexual stimuli has been suspended. It is the simple fundamental impulses of normal life which all our customs and institutions and laws formulate and often emphasize. Human ingenuity sometimes moulds them into extravagant shapes and camouflages them with fantastic designs, but it is the fundamental natural impulses beneath them which are the driving force. This is what Dr. Westermarck in general clearly sees. He is thus easily able to refute Sir James Frazer's rejection of his view. Frazer thinks that laws exist to forbid men to do the things their natural instincts incline them to do. Laws, it seems, are brought down to men, by the Mosaic method, from some inaccessible Sinai. Strange that so brilliant an investigator, whose researches have often elucidated superstitions, should himself fall a victim to a superstition so gross!

There is a temptation, before this great and fascinating *History*, to linger over the problems the author seeks so carefully and so learnedly to solve. It is indeed a varied panorama which is here spread before us. One never ceases to marvel over the endless modifications and elaborations and complexities

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into which the romantic and mighty human mind has successively moulded even so apparently simple and fundamental biological fact as that of marriage. One cannot help wondering, also, what new and fantastic shapes await our marriage system in the future. For Man never stands still; who begins to stand still he is dying. Yet, we may be sure more marriage changes in form the more obviously its substance remain the same thing.

II.

We cannot help wondering, but we need not wonder altogether at random. The future history of marriage can only emerge from its present history. The seeds of tomorrow are being sown today. The big trees of the future are vigorously growing in the present, if only we are able to discern them. They are not always easily discerned because of the frequency among us of deliberate blindness and deep-rooted prejudice leading us, often with the most virtuous motives, either to deny the existence of these new growths or else to brand them as noxious weeds which will soon die out. It may be unwise to put oneself forward as so self-righteous as not to be influenced by these virtuous motives. Yet there are certain tendencies of today, so clear to the eyes of those who are moderately brave in facing the facts of life, that we can scarcely fail to mistake their significance for the future.

Perhaps the most obvious of these tendencies is the movement to increase the legal facilities for divorce. This movement proceeds step by step with civilization and is found in all civilized countries. It exists not only in the lands of Protestant tradition, where we should expect to find it, but also in the lands of Catholic tradition. In no civilized country is there any progressive movement for adding to the legal impediments to divorce. If there were such a country we should probably be suspicious of its claim to be called civilized. And rightly. For in the absence of civilization, while there is room for choice,—since the members of no species are ever actually identical,—yet the chances of the two individuals who choose each other proving to be so unlike as to be incompatible are relatively small. Civilization means the differentiation of individuals, so high a degree of individualization that the act of choice, unless it is made under conditions of prolonged intimacy, is not likely to be effective. That is why it seems to

some that a marriage should not be made binding unless there has been a preliminary stage of noviciate, sufficiently intimate to ensure mutual knowledge.¹ Yet even with such a safeguard it would probably still be felt wiser to continue the movement for facilitating the exit from marriage.

How far that movement will be continued it is impossible to foretell. We have to remember that in our western world, ever since the Reformation, it has received a constantly powerful impetus forward, which the French Revolution, and every later movement of liberation from what seemed to be the legal fetters of the past (notably the Russian Revolution), has accentuated. The natural goal, already beginning to be reached here and there, is obviously divorce by mutual consent, provided of course that no rights of the parties themselves or of the children are injured, for it would seem to be logical that the exit from marriage should not be made more difficult than the entrance. And even if the logical conclusion is in this matter held to be unreasonable, it must certainly be accepted that if impediments are placed in the way of divorce it is essential that impediments should also be placed in the way of marriage, so as to diminish the need for divorce.

The progressive movement for the legal facilitation of divorce may thus be accepted, to whatever extent it may proceed. It is probable that, however great the care shown in forming marriages, the complexities of personality developed by our civilization will continue to introduce so many difficulties that the knot will still sometimes have to be cut because it cannot be unravelled. It is more likely that the movement for simplifying divorce will not proceed rapidly enough. That is where the opportunity arises for the formation of such non-legal unions as, under the name of "companionate," have already been mentioned. Such unions are of course numerous. What we need is socially to recognize them as worthy.

¹ Mrs. Havelock Ellis, "A Noviciate for Marriage," *The New Horizon in Love and Life*.

We are called upon to admit openly—if we are sensible we already admit it in secret—that they are legitimate and beneficial. In many cases, no doubt, such unions are to be regarded as noviciates between two young people who eventually form a permanent marriage with each other. But it is not necessarily so. Young people, both youths and girls, are frequently, in the first place, attracted to persons some years older than themselves, occasionally much older, and doubtless by a natural instinct. Each craves to be brought in touch with a knowledge and experience, with a skill in loving, which they could not expect from one on their own level of crude youthfulness. It is indeed an immense benefit for a youth to be initiated into life by a woman whom to know, as it used to be said, is a liberal education. It is an immense benefit for a girl to be initiated tenderly and gently by an experienced man rather than run the risk of being shocked and perhaps irretrievably injured.¹ It is possible for both the men and the women to conduct this initiation with a reverence and tenderness for which they will receive enduring gratitude. But with that they should rest content. It is not desirable for a permanent relationship to be formed where there is any wide disparity in years.

We witness, then, a tendency for the progressive legal relaxation of the bonds of matrimony, and we witness it without anxiety, even if it should go so far as to reduce legal marriage to a mere formality. But when we turn to the procreation of children we see a very different picture. The community is beginning to realize that it has no direct concern with the sexual relationships of its members. But the community is also beginning to learn that it has a very intimate concern indeed with the children produced by

¹ It need scarcely be added that this is not to be regarded as always an ideal situation. The Countess de Choiseul-Metuse, who knew a great deal about the erotic art, wrote more than a century ago: "It is not enough to be happy, the woman a man loves must share the tenderness and the pleasure she inspires; but men of ripe age are not so delicate; their aim is to enjoy, and they regard women as the instruments of their pleasures." (*Julie*, 1807, vol. ii. p. 50.) That is still often true.

its members. It is beginning to realize that when in old days it ordained rigid rules for marriage and left the procreation of children absolutely free, the emphasis was all wrong; it should have been the other way about, and endless mischief resulted. The world is beginning to see that it is impossible to lay too light a legal hand on marriage and equally impossible to be too rigidly severe in regard to procreation. In this matter, indeed, not so much progress has yet been made as with regard to divorce; but the indications are clear and the two movements are really bound together.

The twentieth century was called by Ellen Key the century of the child. The child is indeed doubly a problem for our century. On the one hand we have to learn how to select the parents of the child (which of course can only be done by themselves), and how so to conceive and bear and rear it that every child brought into the community may be of such high quality that it will not lower but, rather, raise the level of that community; on the other hand we have to establish the strongest possible barriers against the incoming flood of unwanted children which marks our stage of civilization. That flood is due, not to any increase in the number of births but to indiscriminate breeding under modern conditions; and of these conditions the most important is the improved hygiene which allows not only good but bad and indifferent children to reach maturity and so to lower the whole civilized level of the community.¹ This is a problem which the nineteenth century has, without intending it, bequeathed to our century. That century largely carried through the Herculean task it had received from the eighteenth, so clearing away the filth of our supposedly civilized world, and neutralizing

¹ It is now recognized that the rise of population which began with the development of modern hygiene, and is still in progress, is not due to a higher birth-rate but to a lower death-rate. See e.g., M. C. Buer, *Health, Wealth and Population in the Early Days of the Industrial Revolution*, 1926. And see also the discussions in the *Proceedings of the World Population Conference*, 1927.

its diseases, that human lives have been rendered to an enormous degree safer and longer. The result is that the world now holds a vastly greater amount of human life than it knows what to do with. And this, not only because that excess of life is often of poor quality, and thus imposing an intolerable burden on every community which permits it, but because it threatens to outgrow the means of subsistence. There is no need to emphasize the point here. It is becoming familiar. Mankind is, it has been said, at the cross-roads, and the authoritative book which Professor E. M. East has written under that title ought to be, if it is not already, in the hands of all thinking people who are alive to the problems of their own time. It is true that there are people of an elder generation who still try to soothe themselves with foolish dreams of new artificial foods or wild schemes for the reclamation of the inhospitable regions of the earth, foolish because Man, under all his disguises, still remains a natural animal and requires a natural life and natural space to roam in. But the younger generation are, in large part, better informed, and the elder generation will soon be extinct. No doubt they may congratulate themselves that they have escaped a problem compared to which the regulation of marriage, which our forefathers were so solemnly concerned about, was like an idle game. Yet when we hold the two sides of this great question of reproduction together—the new need for quality and the new refusal of quantity—we may see ground for believing that the future course of the race is quite likely to proceed harmoniously. It is true that the desire for children is almost universal. But a growing perception of the special qualities needed for sound physical parentage and the high training required for sound spiritual parentage can scarcely fail to induce—and are indeed already inducing—greater care and hesitation in accepting those responsibilities of conception which it is now being brought well within the competence of all to reject when rejection seems desirable. Such a situation is

the best possible augury for success in that task of diminishing the gross number of births which is today laid upon the civilized countries of the world.¹ The chief failure to comprehend this task is in France, where the State seems to be unaware of the yet obvious fact that France already possesses a high birth-rate—as high, indeed, as England's—and that what is needed, if it is desired to maintain the level of the population, is not more babies but a greater care in preserving those that are born; it is an evil policy to encourage the unfit to procreate, or to seek to adulterate the population of the country by the immigration of the scum of other lands.² In the United States the government has been wiser, and by the strict limitation of immigration it has not only declared to the world its own acceptance of the reality and the imminency of the danger of over-population but has warned other countries in the plainest way that the limitation of procreation is now the task placed before Man.

The question of marriage and divorce has led on to the

¹ At one time much anxiety was ostentatiously expressed concerning what was called the differential birth-rate, or a higher rate of procreation among the poorer (and supposedly inferior) social class as compared with the upper and more educated class. As might have been suspected, that is only a temporary phenomenon, mainly due to the greater facilities in limiting conception possessed by the better educated. It is now becoming recognized that the birth-rates of upper and lower social classes are tending to become equalized. This has been clearly shown as regards London (see e.g., *Nature*, 27 August, 1927), and in Sweden, Dr. Karl Edin of Stockholm University, states (*Proc. World Population Conference*, 1927, p. 205), the birth-rate of the upper class is now lower than that of the working class. As Raymond Pearl indicates (*The Biology of Population Growth*, 1926, Ch. VII) the equalization of environmental conditions tends to equalize the birth-rates.

² The opposite error is committed by the State in Italy at the present time. France thinks that she is not prolific enough and deplores it. Italy thinks she is too prolific—and glories in it. Mussolini has said: "The Italian people are too prolific. I am glad of it. I will never countenance birth control propaganda [it was strictly prohibited by law in 1926]. As the country grows, only three roads are open to it: to addict itself to voluntary sterility—Italians are too intelligent to do that; to make war; or to seek outlets for the over-population." So frank a statement shows as clearly as could be wished how a country that tolerates its excessive procreancy is a deliberate menace to civilization and the declared enemy of all countries more favorably situated than itself.

question of children because that has hitherto been held to be the point to which mainly it ought to lead. Today this is beginning to seem less certain. Many marriages now are, deliberately or not, childless; and when children come they are not necessarily held an argument against divorce, since a single parent under happy conditions is better for a child than two parents under unhappy conditions; moreover, it is now generally accepted that where divorce takes place it is imperative to arrange for the welfare of the child. But, beyond these considerations, there is an aspect of marriage which transcends the question of the children it may lead to, and even goes beyond the whole question of the specifically sexual relationship included in marriage. There are many independent indications on various sides to show that this is beginning to be recognized. It is easy to understand how the recognition has been delayed. The great divorce movement, justifiable as it has been, was largely operative in this sense. That movement may be said to have been a revolt of the spirit of Protestantism, an assertion of individuality and freedom and truth in reaction against what seemed the fictions of the Catholic conception of marriage. As such, it has been accepted, and there is no occasion to undo what it is achieving.

But in that achievement the sound core of the Catholic conception has often been overlooked. The Catholic conception of marriage as a sacrament effected by the two consenting parties, the priest being present only as a witness, represented more than a union for purposes of sexual intercourse and propagation; it represented a certain state of life, a religious state, in which sexual union was only one of the bonds, and a bond not so supremely important that to break it involved the dissolution of the marriage. Moreover, the Catholic with this conception of marriage was by no means peculiar; on the contrary, in other parts of the world, in other great civilizations, marriage has been an essentially similar institution. It was so with marriage in India; in China, where a primary importance was certainly

attached to procreation, the erotic element was subordinate and love not always exclusive; even primitive peoples, such as those of New Guinea studied by Malinowski, had, as has already been noted, a large conception of marriage.¹ The peculiarity of the Catholic Church was in the fictions with which it supported its high conception. It assumed that if at the outset the two parties to the marriage had given a genuine consent, and no impediment existed, it was not possible for the consent to cease or new impediments to arise at any later stage; so the primary consent, if unimpeachable, constituted the marriage, and no fresh circumstances could suffice to dissolve it. That was a daringly effective way of asserting the high dignity of marriage and its heroic supremacy over changing circumstances, but it was a fiction.

To the Protestant mind that fiction has been clear for three hundred years. But it has not been clear that the Protestant conception of marriage is also founded on a fiction, and of an equally glaring and mischievous kind. The Protestant conception of marriage, which is that of the modern world generally, and is becoming that of the countries once Catholic, is much vaguer than the Catholic conception. But on the whole it may be said to be, whether religious or civil, in its essence secular and in its popular atmosphere romantic. That is to say, it is narrowed down to a kind of legal sex-contract which is held to be sufficiently sanctified by the promise of exclusive and permanent mutual love.² Such a promise in the union of any

¹ In the Trobriand Islands of New Guinea the girls grow up "in promiscuous free love which gradually develops into more permanent attachments, one of which ends in marriage." The married woman, however, still retains considerable independence, as well as high consideration, and may not be strictly faithful. B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p. 42.

² Thus in a recent (1927) attack from the Protestant standpoint of the "artificial, fanciful, and often grotesque" conception of the Roman Catholic Church, Archdeacon R. H. Charles, preaching on divorce in Westminster Abbey, argued that fidelity is the one essential fact of marriage and that "unchastity broke the bond and cancelled a valid marriage."

couple, even of the most devoted lovers, is a transparent fiction, which can never be kept, and if it is taken seriously as the foundation of marriage it inevitably casts a drop of poison, if not a fatal dose, into the marital cup. It is certainly within the power of every sane and honest husband and wife to avoid having actual sex intercourse with other persons, and it is unnecessary to say that a vast number of husbands and wives have avoided it. But there is a long gradation of acts short of that final act which permit the intimate expression of love, so intimate that they have often sufficed to furnish adequate legal evidence of adultery. Then, short of such definite actions, the devotion of love can be expressed in speech. Further, many a stern Puritan in our civilization, strong to hold in control all the impulses of action and speech, and worthily honored by the Church to which he belongs, has still, when he came to lie with his wife, found his thoughts concentrated on the vision of another woman. And from the Christian standpoint, as set forth by Jesus, that is adultery.

There is no doubt about this: the promise of mutual exclusive and everlasting love is a promise that cannot be kept and should not be made. It cannot form a permanent basis of marriage, and good marriages subsist by being shifted on to other foundations. Yet there has been a general conspiracy not merely to preserve this fiction but to put it at the front as the primary condition for marriage. "Promise that you will never love any one but me!" Lovers are not taught to look upon this demand as wrong and silly. They are expected to make it; and expected to accept it. If they fail to do so the general feeling has been that this is not likely to be a "happy marriage."

The people who actively encourage this fiction regard it as furnishing the one essential foundation for marriage. All other considerations, though recognized as not without importance, they treat as secondary. They look down on marriage not based on this foundation as a degradation of the lofty romantic idealism they proclaim. They have personally, no

doubt, come to accept a less romantic and more realistic basis for themselves, but that they privately regard as a failure, not to be generally recognized, and they make up for it by proclaiming all the more loudly the sound and only basis for marriage.

Yet it may truly be said that of all the possible foundations for marriage this is the worst, the most likely to lead if not to actual failure, to serious difficulties. It is the worst foundation because it is the most certain to give way. Exclusive passionate love, in the erotic sense, cannot furnish sound foundation for a union that is meant to be permanent. That would perhaps have been long ago recognized but for the fact that, sooner or later, in the marriages that turn out well the union is, as privately as possible, readjusted on to a more stable foundation. But that readjustment is often troublesome, and even very painful for both parties to the union, the reason being that the first foundation had been put before them in such glowing colors, with such exalted idealism, fortified by all the romance of literature and tradition, that disillusionment comes as a shock, and the new foundation, if fortunately it is found, still seems like a disastrous fall to failure. The husband finds consolation in his work, perhaps varied by private little episodes with other women, whether or not carried far, while the wife seeks comfort in her children, if she has any, and for the rest cherishes secret bitter discontent with her life, for she imagines might have turned out better under different circumstances so each

"keeps hidden

Love's private tatters in a private Eden."

It is true that life in marriage may turn out better under some different circumstances, even if this does not involve a safe foundation from the outset. In Protestant countries before the Reformation of the sixteenth century, the foundation was entirely different, but there is no good ground to believe that marriage then turned out less well, in spite of the echoes of occasional scandals that have come down to us, and

the more conspicuously, perhaps, because they were exceptions. In France, where the ancient attitude towards marriage has still been largely preserved, it is *suitability* rather than sexual passion which is regarded as the proper foundation for marriage; it is held that when that has been secured the right conditions exist for the development of love. More often than not that anticipation is sound, and the frequency of mutual devotion and harmony in French domestic life has long been a commonplace among foreigners. It is so likewise in other parts of the world. In China, where procreation is the first duty in all families, and the erotic element, though frankly recognized, is never the reason for marriage, there are unhappy marriages, as elsewhere, and we are not called to regard the Chinese system as ideal; but Dr. Wilhelm, a great authority on China, is able to say that "it cannot be asserted that even the most personal European marriage based entirely on mutual affection is any happier or more peaceful than Chinese marriage, which rests on parental authority." We constantly find, indeed, similar remarks made by competent observers concerning marriage systems based on this or similar principles. Yet their significance seems to be lost on us. It is true that there is no possible system which will not sometimes produce unsatisfactory or even deplorable marriages. But there is no community which does not contain unsatisfactory or even deplorable members, and they needs must bring their qualities into their marriages.

It has been common in the past to talk of the prospect of a "happy marriage." But the ideal of a "happy marriage" has often been far too cheap and easy. If we try to think of couples who enjoy this state of "happy marriage"—putting aside those who have reached it indirectly and without seeking it by passing through much tribulation—we shall often find that they constitute little isolated family groups consumed by greedy absorption and cut off from all generous contact with the world; or they are couples who cherish a narrowly sensual and selfish devotion to each

other of which the final impression is painful; or they are just the good, simple, primitive, undifferentiated people who are, as it was said of old, born to consume the fruits of the earth. We gaze at them as we gaze at the occupants of a pig-sty, without contempt, quite cheerfully, but well aware that their happiness can hardly furnish the key to the solution of our own more complex situation.

We have to put aside the notion that any such happiness can rightly be the aim of marriage for us. Happiness may be the end of marriage, the deep satisfaction that comes of a long partnership carried through affectionately and courageously, with a full-hearted acceptance of the anguish as well as the joy that such partnership must inevitably bring. But a happiness that is placed as the initial aim of marriage,—the indefinitely prolonged honeymoon of old-fashioned novels which never even allowed for the fact that the honeymoon itself may be far from happiness,—this is a mere delusion.

That is where the divorce movement, excellent as in itself it was, has unfortunately helped to narrow down and conventionalize the ideal of marriage, to fortify the old-fashioned romantic view which has no basis in the facts of life. The facility of divorce has served to support the notion that happiness is the aim of marriage and that, when difficulties appear, the one natural solution is separation; and it has concentrated attention on the erotic element as though that were not only a highly important element but the actual sole content of marriage, and its diversion an adequate reason for dissolving the marriage. It is true that many husbands and wives, when contemplating the question of divorce, draw back before deciding on it because they feel that they are too deeply attached to the conjugal partner to accept separation. But they regard this affection as a hinderance to the just and proper solution of divorce rather than as an essential factor of the marriage union itself.

In the remarkable *Book of Marriage* which Count Keyserling put forth a few years ago, we find that the central conception of marriage therein embodied closely corresponds with the tendencies which in various directions we seem to see gaining force today. We are not here concerned with Count Keyserling's general attitude. It is enough to recognize that he is—though often laying himself open to criticism—a thinker of weight and influence in our world, and that he has here, in a book to which some two dozen writers of different schools and various countries have contributed, so moulded the outcome that a harmonious conception is visible. The fact that his vision of marriage was largely inspired by the East, and especially by contact with India and China, is far from invalidating it. The vision has been evoked by the East, but it remains Western, only vitalized anew because it is a conception which our recent past has overlaid.

Count Keyserling reacts against the narrow conception of marriage which prevailed in the recent past and still survives amongst us. Marriage, he insists, is not only a sexual bond but also a personal bond; we cannot, therefore, confine it within the sphere of morals and regard the existence of a sexual rupture as an adequate cause for divorce. Biology, esthetics, and religion are concerned with marriage, as well as ethics; by reducing marriage to the narrow moral basis we are ultimately only able to invoke "the sense of duty," in place of that inner necessity which is the sound vital source of action. A hasty resort to divorce is a more serious failure than adultery, which has "existed all through the ages and was never looked upon as a real danger to marriage." For it is not an easy domestic happiness which is the proper aim of marriage, and by pursuing that aim we solve neither the problem of marriage nor the problem of happiness. Marriage is essentially rather to be termed a tragic condition than a happy condition. It is by the intensity of life it produces that its success must be measured, and even its ultimate happiness. "Unhappily married people more rarely harm their own souls than those who are happily married," it is here pregnantly said.

"Not only does an unhappy marriage promote self-development more positively than does a mere state of ease due to lack of experience, but in the end it leads more truly to that inward happiness which is the necessary consequence of achievement." Thus the art of marriage is one of the most difficult of the arts, and one of the most arduous, and it becomes more and more so with the progress of civilization. It is not perhaps an art for all to attempt,—the artist in other fields, at all events, and the saint should alike avoid it,—yet an art that renders possible the joy of great performance, for "one can play only on tightened strings."

For Keyserling the marriage-partners constitute a unit, but a unit in a special sense which involves the freedom and independence of each partner and a high degree of distance and reserve. He tries to symbolize this conception as an elliptical field of force. The two foci are separate units, which can never merge and are always at a distance from each other. But the interpolat tension of the two units constitutes another higher unit, different from that of the two foci and of creative power. In the intensified life that thus arises, and not in any cheap comfort or mutual conjugal absorption, lies the deepest significance of marriage. Exactly the same conception of marriage is finely embodied in a different quarter, in Kahlil Gibran's *The Prophet*:

"Give your hearts, but not into each other's keeping,
For only the hand of Life can contain your hearts.
And stand together but not too near together
For the pillars of the temple stand apart."

It is interesting to recall that this conception of the relation of the sexes in marriage, however modern it may seem, is only a new statement of the primitive conception of the dangers which the two sexes hold for each other and the precautions with which so risky an adventure as marriage must be approached. Man has always surrounded sex with *taboos*, and carefully guarded changes in sex status with sacred rites.¹

¹ The late Ernest Crawley in his important work, *The Mystic Rose* (1902, new and enlarged edition by Besterman, 1927) first clearly and convincingly demonstrated these taboos, and A. van Gennep has studied the rites connected with change of status in his *Rites de Passage* (1909).

It has here seemed worth while to present the central idea of Keyserling's remarkable essay on "The Correct Statement of the Marriage Problem" because it states in a definite fashion, and more boldly than is usual—too boldly some would say—certain tendencies which are now becoming manifest in the modern development of the conception of marriage. The view that marriage is properly a permanent and indissoluble union,—though rightly to be brought to an end when it clearly stifles the development of the partners to it,—not formed by a single bond, however important that bond, but by various components that are all important, so that the failure of any one bond is not an adequate ground for dissolution, is here brought into relation with the considerations which are already becoming familiar. For the erotic element of marriage, while put aside as the sole content of marriage, is yet recognized as of enormous importance, and the lack of cultivation of the art of love declared to be a main reason of the frequent failure of marriage. The place of birth control, also, is seen to be essential in the cultivation of a fine marriage. Each of the partners is called upon to carry forward the task of self-development, not merely for his or her own individual sake but for the sake of the higher creative unity which together they constitute, for "marriage is impossible without discipline and art." For the same reason a certain distance and reserve are called for in the two partners, by no means in the sense of defective intimacy; "on the contrary, the more intimate they are the more strictly should they cherish their own individuality," and to avoid the risk of encroaching on one another they should be careful to cultivate periods of absence. In that way marriage, when successful, may reach its highest point of creative spiritual unity, and, in the end, its highest point of happiness, even though in the process it must necessarily be a tragic state of tension. For if it is not that, it must fail to act as an ennobling and harmonizing part of life, since life itself is a tragic state of tension, and we cannot play our proper part in life, or attain the deepest joy of living, unless we are brought into harmony with the processes of life. In this conception of mar-

riage we may perhaps see a synthesis of the Catholic and the Protestant conceptions, brought on to a plane at which it becomes acceptable to the realistic mind of the man of today. The union rendered indissoluble by an internal constraint is thus placed on that external foundation of complete freedom without which marriage is a fiction, possibly a useful fiction, but possessing no spiritual or moral meaning; just as life itself (of which marriage is the figure in miniature) would have no spiritual or moral meaning if we were not free, at any moment, to bring it to an end.

It is true that, as thus presented, marriage hardly seems a vocation that can appeal to all. Not only the saint and the artist, but the comfort-loving, sensual, cultivated people—of whom there are so many in any civilized community—had often better avoid it. There are ways of sexual association outside marriage. It is to the advantage of society—even, in the narrow sense, the moral advantage—that those who are not fitted for marriage should as early as possible discover that lack of fitness and refrain from marrying. The indiscriminate thrusting of men and women into marriage, without regard to the supreme question of their fitness to be the fine parents of a fine race, or to be the spiritual comrades of each other, could only lead towards racial degeneracy and moral disorder. It seems to be a mark of increased sanity in our time, so far at least as this matter is concerned, that there is no longer any reckless insistence on the necessity of marriage for all, and that men and women may now lead their own lives in the world and select their own intimate friends of either sex. Not all, even of those who desire marriage, can be sure of their vocation to embrace marriage in communion with one particular person, just as not all who desire to enter the religious life can be sure of their vocation for union with Christ or the Virgin. If we apply to marriage the sound Catholic plan of a noviciate for the purpose of determining true vocation, there may, in time, be as few discontented persons in our marriage as in our mon-

asteries. And in thus limiting, and in so doing purifying, our marriage relationship, necessarily at the same time diminishing procreative activity, we shall be working towards the solution of that problem which from another side science now shows to be so urgent, the problem, that is, of the undue growth of the world's population under modern conditions. Theory and practice, while each moving within its own sphere, will thus be advancing hand in hand.

Nor must it be supposed that in presenting the aim of real marriage as a difficult and even tragic quest, there is danger that but few will follow it. On the contrary! It is difficulty that allures us, and on every high path its difficulty is proclaimed to allure the aspirant. "Our youths must be prepared for self-sacrifice, for arduous discipline, perhaps for the most heart-breaking rebuffs, for the stern and even bitter criticism of their fellows. But there never was a time so rich in promise, so laden with rewards for those who labor with sincerity and truth. The responsibilities which rest on them are enough to cause the stoutest sometimes to falter. Yet, armed with the sword of the spirit and the breastplate of faith, they will remember that the happiness of life lies in its responsibilities, that true joy is found in the search for what may after a weary journey prove unattainable." It is a distinguished surgeon who is speaking, and it is devotion to science that he has in mind.¹ But may not the art of living claim as much devotion as the art of knowing?

It is likely that many will stumble at the point in this presentation of the marriage situation—only brought forward here as one of many possible presentations—at which they seem to see the condonation of adultery. That point, which Keyserling passes over lightly, is one of deep significance and needs to be made clear. It is easy to say that adultery has "existed all through the ages," and therewith

¹ Sir Berkeley Moynihan, Hunterian Oration, *British Medical Journal*, 19 Feb., 1927.

to leave it as an accepted fact. It has not only existed, it has existed as a tragic fact, a cause of murder and of misery, a corroding poison in every age and every country in,—and often out of,—what was once called Christendom. "I found them one morning in each other's arms—and they died," wrote, three centuries ago, the high-spirited Spanish captain, Alonso de Contreras, of his wife and her lover, his own trusted friend.¹ Direct action of this kind has become less usual during the years that have followed, but the emotions experienced by the seventeenth century Spaniard are still often experienced today, even among presumably civilized persons, with a consciousness of complete justification. And still, also, they lead to action which, even if indirect, may be just as fatal to marriage. So that we can scarcely be content to leave the matter at that point.

There is no need to leave it at that, and with the development of new conditions in life the reasons are accumulating why we should not. We may put aside the consideration that adultery of some kind—at least that of the eye or of the heart—is all but inevitable, and that romantic youthful vows of everlasting fidelity are only valid for the moment when they are uttered; because it is nevertheless probable that they will be continued to be uttered for some time to come. The conception of adultery is being more surely and more subtly undermined, and from various directions. It is not necessary to attempt to enumerate them all here, because there is so little doubt about the fact. But two at least may be mentioned. In the first place, the facility of divorce has itself indirectly destroyed the ancient significance of adultery. It has done this even by the importance that has thus been attached to adultery. For if adultery (with or without one or two more or less fictitious accessory circumstances) is the recognized ground for divorce, there may indeed be some trouble and inconveni-

¹ *The Life of Captain Alonso de Contreras*, translated by Catherine Phillips, 1926, p. 130.

ence caused, but the dissolution of the marriage will simply mean in the end the establishment of one or two perhaps more satisfactory marriages, and as the result of adultery all will be for the best. In fact, as at present generally established, the law itself insists on the adultery as a condition for the re-marriage, and it would be absurd to take tragically an act imposed by law. Again, from another side, the conception of adultery has been undermined by the whole modern woman's movement and its gradual transformation of legal enactment and judicial attitude. Of old the wife was, in a more or less legal manner, the possession of the husband, and correspondingly, the husband became, in a less legal manner, the "possession" of the wife. But the slow legal emancipation of the wife, giving her an increasingly greater control over her own person, is bringing her so near to the point where even adultery might be regarded as within her rights over her own person, that, however much it may arouse disapproval, adultery is no longer anywhere near being a crime. We are, further, today gaining a little more insight into the inner mechanism of human impulses, and we realize that when adultery occurs it is the partner we term innocent who is in nearly every case the cause of it, for it is that partner who has been least successful in the essential art of courtship, the art of winning and holding love, and we no longer lay the penalty, without consideration, on the ostensibly guilty partner.¹ There are other influences of recent times which have led in the same direction, and notably the social aftermath of the Great War, so that adultery, which even Shakespeare had regarded, in mere suspicion, as an awful source of tragedy (but it is significant that Shakespeare,

¹ Thus a German woman lawyer, Dr. Maria Munk (*Der Ehebruch als Ehescheidungsgrund, Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, June, 1927) points out that the innocent party is often the true cause of the adultery, and adds that now when the old idea of the "sanctity" of marriage has so greatly diminished, the deserted party who regards it as within his or her rights to take another partner can no longer be considered as an offender for so doing.

though he was a few years older than Alonso de Contreras, thought it desirable to make his Othello a barbarian), may now seem to us perhaps a more fitting subject for comedy.

To fortify the emotional side of adultery, it is true, there is, as Othello reminds us, jealousy. That is not touched by legal, social, or psychological considerations, and even lovers who are careful not to make rash vows may still feel its pangs when the moment for it arrives, as it doubtless will. For jealousy, however low we may rank it, is rooted in nature. It is a kind of greed which ultimately springs out of the instinct of self-preservation. It may be detected even among our domestic animals in relation to food, even though there is no longer any justification for it. There is no longer any justification for jealousy in human love, but the impulse arises. To deal with it is part of the discipline of love. It is a very necessary part, for though jealousy may at first seem to its object an agreeable mark of devotion it quickly becomes fatal to the love it thus seeks to hold. The victim of jealousy falls to the level of the victims of passion generally, the level of the dipsomaniac or the drug-addict, an object of pity perhaps, no longer fitted to be a master of life, or a master of love, which is the epitome of life. The conquest of jealousy must sometimes be hard, but without it there is no entering the kingdom of marriage.

Today, however, there is more than that to be said. The intensity of jealousy, it is now possible to say, which we observe in the recent past was, in a large degree, an artificial product. The germ was natural, but the developments were fostered by personal and social codes and ideals we now see to be false. It is enough to turn to the most intimate of these falsities, although we have already encountered it, for it is at the core of this matter: the preliminary vow of everlasting and exclusive mutual fidelity. That, at the outset, rendered difficult for all, and for many impossible, the exercise of a quality which is even more necessary at the foundation of marriage than love itself:

the quality of sincerity. If that fictitious preliminary vow were really the foundation of marriage it needed little intelligence to see that the avowal of affectionate attraction to another person meant a crack in the foundation and a possible threat to the stability of the marriage itself. It was alarming, it aroused restless suspicions, terrible doubts. So such avowals were avoided, often indeed avoided with a show of virtuous justification, by people who were not aware that in destroying mutual sincerity they were inflicting a much deeper wound to their marriage union than in destroying exclusive sexual attraction. They seem to have understood this better in the eighteenth century, and the nineteenth century, with its hypocritical idealism, looked down on that century in consequence, with misplaced contempt. But in every age there are some lovers who know from the first that there cannot be a real marriage without a complete mutual trust, and that any private decision, on one side or the other, that such trust is not possible suffices alone to break the bond of union in any true sense; such lovers meet difficulties, and they feel at times the pang of jealousy, but it has lost its fatal sting, and the foundations of their marriage are rendered deeper and stronger by the victories over jealousy they have won.

That result would be rendered easier and more frequent if lovers always avoided setting for themselves so dangerous a trap at the outset. The initial vow needs to be so enlarged that its essence can be summed up as erotic comradeship. That may well include an exclusive mutual erotic devotion, if, and in so far as, that proves possible. But it goes beyond such limited devotion; it means that the two lovers so love each other, and so trust each other, that it is natural and instinctive to tell each other of their feelings towards other persons. They are able to share, in sympathy if not always actually, the new affections that come into their lives, and thereby to increase and to affirm their affection for each other. Under such conditions jealousy, in well-proportioned natures, even if it arises, can do no hurt, and even the ground for it to arise is unlikely to be found, for where the new affection is seen and acknowledged

at the outset the lovers are able to control and guide it together, to keep it within the established bounds of their own love.

That, also, is a task which is easier than it was in the mediaeval world whence we have derived so many now decaying traditions. In that world,—save in a few special circles which were really out of touch with their own time—the art of love had barely any existence. Sexual intercourse was extremely well-known—better known, it may be, than now—but all the delicate gradations of courtship and intimate love, of which that intercourse is merely the final and perhaps never reached stage, were so unfamiliar that even the kiss seems often to have been scarcely known, as indeed among the peasantry it scarcely is, save in a rudimentary way, known today. It is becoming realized how many marriages, even among would-be cultivated people, fail, or sink to a lower level, owing to a lack of knowledge of the art of love which is still frequently complete. But it is not yet realized how this defective art of love is responsible for the absence of wholesome and enlarging relationships with friends outside the marriage bond. If the alternative to a relationship of affectionate friendship is the sexual act or nothing then married life inevitably becomes either perilous or impoverished. But there is really a vast space between nothing and the complete physical surrender of sexual abandonment. In that space are many stages in affectionate confidence and intimacy at which friendships may be formed, to enrich the life of married lovers who are firm in the mutual trust of their erotic comradeship. Such an enlargement of affectionate relationship within marriage, is, moreover, by no means to be regarded as a permitted weakness, or a tolerated indulgence. On the contrary, it is the narrow mutual self-absorption of the old-time ideal which calls for indulgence, and is indeed unworthy of indulgence. Marriage, however convenient it may still remain, is without any high mission unless it brings those who contract it into a many-sided contact with the greater world, and that contact cannot be real and intimate if it excludes at the outset the possibility of other relationships that are affectionate.

Significant evidence of the impulses which are moving the husbands and wives of today has been furnished by Judge Ben Lindsey who has for many years been known throughout the world for his beneficent attitude as a judge and an adviser in matters that come before a domestic and juvenile court, so that he has constantly been called upon for counsel in the private affairs of life outside his Court. He has presented some of the results in his wise and helpful book, *The Revolt of Modern Youth*, and more recently he has set forth the experience he has acquired concerning the actions and feelings of husbands and of wives today, in these matters of adultery and jealousy and an enlarged conception of marriage. His evidence is the more valuable because, on the one hand, the married people he brings before us are ordinary citizens and not morbid or exceptional persons, and on the other hand because he is not desiring to put forward any revolutionary ideas about marriage. He is simply reporting what he has found, and himself seems sometimes a little surprised at the attitude towards these problems which he reveals. But for us there need be no surprise. The people in Colorado whom Judge Lindsey has been privileged to know intimately are simply moving in the direction in which the whole civilized world is moving, and the direction of their movement is conditioned by forces which a few of us may be permitted to see, but all of us are compelled to feel, stirring within us and instinctively guiding us along the path. If in the end this movement leads to the conquest of marriage over adultery—a conquest achieved, in the only way in which conquest can be effectually achieved, by absorbing it—then one of the triumphs of mankind will indeed have been consummated. That it should have been given to our time to place marriage on a sound foundation is not, for me at all events, any matter for surprise. At the outset of my course it seemed to me that the age-long problem of the place in life of the impulse of sex had at last been reached by Man in his course, and that it was specially set before our own age at length to solve it. Now, nearly half a

century later, I would rejoice that the advance made has even gone beyond my dreams, and not feel called upon to grieve over any respectable idols of the past now falling in the dust.

The way to that end, once almost impassable, has in modern times been made easy. It has been made easy because, now, young people, and especially young women, are accepting an attitude towards each other, and towards the things that concern the relations of the sexes, that has never been seen in our western world for many centuries, if ever. They have thrown aside the taboo which once rendered the things that pertain to sex too sacred or too obscene—nobody quite knew which—to be known; they seek to know these things and to know each other, calmly assuming their right to this knowledge and their equal right not to disclose, unless they think fit, the extent of their knowledge. To many people this attitude of the young is still a source of perplexity, if not of alarm and horror. But we have to recognize that it is the only proper preparation for marriage. There are many disabilities, physical and spiritual, which should be held as disqualifying for marriage, but it would be hard to find any so fatal as that which was once foolishly revered under the name of Innocence. There will be fewer Francescas for the Dante of the future to place in Hell, however populous he may otherwise render its circles. For we need not undertake to declare that the total sum of virtue in the world will be increased, but we may safely hazard the opinion that if we cease to blindfold the young they are less likely to fall into ditches. That blindfolding of the young, and of women even when no longer young, was once so common that it may be said to have been erected into a system, still accepted even by many yet living among us. How often do women of the younger generation talk, with a smile, concerning men of an older generation with whom they have come into relation, how these men refer vaguely and distantly to things which they sup-

pose women know nothing about, things not concerning them and likely to shock them, and really the things which intimately concern them and which often—not indeed always—the women they are speaking to know as much about as they do themselves. No doubt these men had a sort of justification, for in their world the things that belong to sex were degraded to a level which they themselves, with a fine metaphorical felicity, termed “smutty.” Yet, surely, such an attitude will in the future seem an almost incredible feature of the past.

It is impossible to write history in advance. One can only repeat that what today we call the future will tomorrow be the past and can bring nothing of which the vital germs are not vigorously growing among us today. We see them, or we do not see them, in accordance with the measure of our vision. Strictly speaking, indeed, the present has no existence; the word that you form in your mind belongs to the future, but you have no sooner uttered it than it belongs to the past, as irrevocably as though it had been spoken by Adam. The present is merely an imaginary line at which the past and the future meet and mingle. We are in the midst of both; past men and future men are here today. For my own part, notwithstanding various archeological interests, I find it tedious to be among those who are several centuries behind their own time; it has amused me more to share the disdain bestowed upon those who are a little in front.—I may be permitted, as I depart, to make this one personal observation.

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